

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XVII

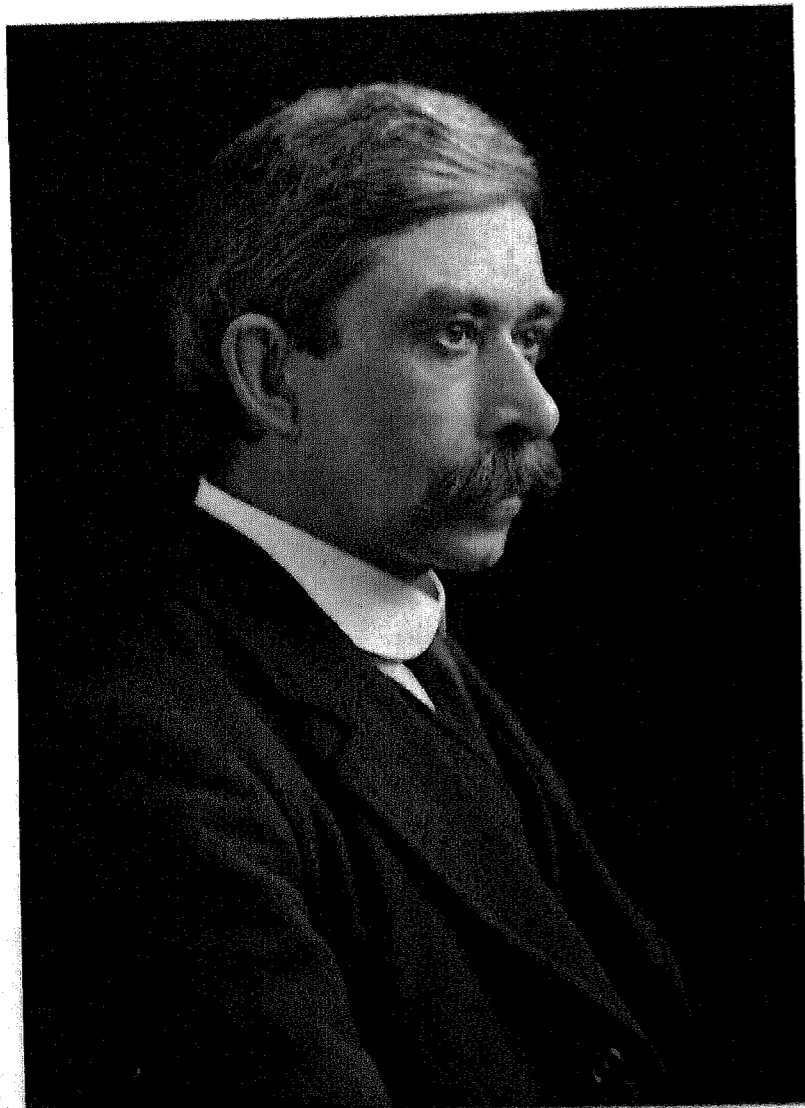
*HUNT*

Seminario di Lettere e Filosofia

N. 213<sup>7</sup> d' ~~invent.~~

TO THE MEMORY OF  
BERNARD PYNE GRENFELL

b. DEC. 16, 1869 d. MAY 18, 1926



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EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART XVII

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

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FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

WITH A PORTRAIT AND FOUR PLATES

X

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## PREFACE

IN this Part, as in most of the earlier ones of the series, a selection of documents of the Roman age has been combined with a number of literary texts. Many of the latter come from the third of the large groups found in 1906 (see *Archaeological Report* 1905-6, p. 13), which has not hitherto been drawn upon; preparatory work on this occupied much of the summer of 1924.

The interval between the appearance of the present volume and that of its predecessor has been marked by the sad death of my former colleague Professor Grenfell. A biographical sketch and an appreciation of his great services to the Egypt Exploration Society were given by Mr. J. G. Milne in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xii. 285, and I may also refer to an article by Wilcken in *Gnomon* ii. 557 and to those by myself in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1927, and in *Aegyptus* viii. 114. To readers of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, with which his name will remain inseparably associated, Grenfell's work is too well known to need any further eulogy here. In dedicating specifically to his memory the following pages, to which a recent portrait is prefixed, I would only add a brief personal tribute and emphasize the magnitude of my debt to a loyal collaborator and true friend, whose loss is indeed irreparable.

My thanks are, as usual, primarily due to Mr. E. Lobel for constant assistance with the new classical pieces. Valuable notes were also contributed by Professor Gilbert Murray on 2077-8, by Professor A. E. Housman on 2079-80, and by Dr. J. V. Bartlet on some of the theological fragments. The proof-sheets of the non-literary texts were read by Mr. H. I. Bell and have had the benefit of his comments. Kind help received from other scholars is acknowledged in connexion with the particular passages concerned.

## PREFACE

An apology is owing to subscribers for delay, which various unforeseen accidents have prolonged, in the publication of this book. They will be glad to know that its successor, a volume of Mr. Tait's *Greek Ostraca*, is already in the press, and the long-promised edition of the Theocritus papyrus discovered by Mr. Johnson at Antinoë will, it is hoped, quickly follow. Some progress will thus be made in clearing off arrears.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
AUGUST, 1927.

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE method followed in this volume resembles that of its predecessors. Of the new literary texts, 2076-80 are given in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style; in the rest, as in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand are in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to occasion any difficulty. Where additions or corrections are distinguished by a varying type, those by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Iota adscript has been printed where so written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion. Dots placed within brackets represent approximately the number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri in this volume and Parts I-XVI, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in citing papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz. :—

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den k. Museen zu Berlin, griech. Urkunden.

C. P. Herm. = Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum (P. Stud. Pal. V), by  
C. Wessely.

C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri.

(M.) = L. Mittels, *Chrestomathie*.



- P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri, Vols. I-II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I-V, by Sir F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.  
 P. Brit. Mus. Lit. = Catalogue of Literary Papyri in the British Museum, by H. J. M. Milne.  
 P. Cairo Edgar = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri, Vols. I-II, by C. C. Edgar.  
 P. Cairo Maspero = Catal. des Antiq. égypt. du Musée du Caire, Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Vols. I-III, by J. Maspero.  
 P. Cairo Preisigke = Griech. Urkunden des Aeg. Museums zu Cairo, by F. Preisigke.  
 P. Eleph. = Elephantine-Papyri (B. G. U., Sonderheft), by O. Rubensohn.  
 P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.  
 P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vols. I and III by G. Vitelli; Vol. II by D. Comparetti.  
 P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.  
 P. Giessen = Griechische Papyri zu Giessen, Vol. I, by E. Kornemann, O. Eger, and P. M. Meyer.  
 P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Hamb. = Griech. Papyrusurkunden der Hamburgischen Stadtbibliothek, by P. M. Meyer.  
 P. Heid. = Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung I, by A. Deissmann.  
 P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Iand. = Papyri Iandanae, by E. Schäfer and others.  
 P. Klein. Form. = P. Stud. Pal. III and VIII by C. Wessely.  
 P. Leipz. = Griech. Urkunden der Papyrus-Sammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mittels.  
 P. Neutest. = Griech. Texte aus Aegypten, by P. M. Meyer.  
 P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii, 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.  
 P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Part III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.  
 P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by T. Reinach and others.  
 P. Ross-Georg. = Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen, Vol. I, by G. Zeretell and O. Krueger.  
 P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt, and Vol. II, by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. S. Hunt.

- P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I-VIII, by G. Vitelli and others.  
 P. Strassb. = Griech. Papyrus der Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg, Vols. I and II, by F. Preisigke.  
 P. Stud. Pal. = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, by C. Wessely and others.  
 P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Parts I and II by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, and E. J. Goodspeed.  
 P. Thead. = Papyrus de Théadelphie, by P. Jouguet.  
 SB. = Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, by F. Preisigke.  
 Theb. Ost. = University of Toronto Studies, *Theban Ostraca*, by A. H. Gardiner, H. Thompson, and J. G. Milne.  
 (W.) = U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*.

## I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

2065. PSALM xc.

4 x 5.7 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

A SMALL sheet of parchment forming two consecutive leaves, on which are inscribed a few verses from the 90th Psalm. The compass of the book to which the sheet belonged remains uncertain. Though diminutive proportions are not inconsistent with contents of appreciable length, especially for theological literature (cf. 1782. int.), a page of the present dimensions was obviously not adapted to the book of the Psalms; and in view of the popularity of this particular Psalm as an amulet (cf. 1928. int.), 2065. very likely provides another instance of its use for that purpose. If the first leaf were left blank, a quire of four leaves would comfortably accommodate the sixteen verses, possibly with a few additional words at the end, as e. g. in 1928. When the sheet is open the flesh side is uppermost. The irregular rather small sloping uncials may be of the fourth or fifth century.

Fol. 1 recto.

λους πετο 5  
 μενου ημε  
 ρας απο 6  
 πραγματος  
 5 εν σκοτι δι  
 απορευομε  
 νου απο σ[υ  
 πτωματος

Fol. 2 recto.

δε ουκ εγ[γει  
 πλην τοις [ο

Fol. 1 verso.

και δαιμο  
 10 νιον μεσημ  
 βριμου πε  
 σφεται εκ  
 του κλιτου  
 [σ]ου χιλιας  
 15 και μυριας  
 εκ δεξιων  
 σου προς σε

Fol. 2 verso.

[μ]ου τον υ  
 ψιστον ε

20 φθαλμοίς	σου καταφν	30 γην σου ου
ησεις και αιν	προσελευ	[σ]εται πρως
ταποδοσιν	[σ]ε κακα και	[μασ]τιγξ ου
αμαρτωλῶ	[κ]ε η [ε]λπις	15 [κ]ε γγιει τω

6. εν σκατι διαπ.: no B<sup>a</sup>T, 1928, P. Ryl. 3; διαπ. εν σκ. B<sup>a</sup>AR, and Nicole, *Textes gr. inédits*, 6 (= Gen.)

13. κλιτων: no ART and, in effect, 1928, P. Ryl. 3; κλιτων B<sup>a</sup>, Gen. A short diagonal stroke after the υ seems to be meaningless.

22-3. 1. α[ρ]ταποδοσιν. There is a superfluous stroke between η and α.

27. οψη: οψη B<sup>a</sup>, οψη 1928. οψη ου fills the line, without ει, which is added by R.

34. [μασ]τιγξ: the same spelling occurs in Gen.

## 2066. ECCLESIASTES vi, vii.

8.8 x 5.6 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

This small fragment from the book of Ecclesiastes, which makes its first appearance in a papyrus, is part of a leaf of a codex and was found shortly after 1895, which contains the beginning of Ecclesiasticus. The two fragments cannot however have belonged to the same volume, notwithstanding much similarity in the type of script and the colour of the ink, as well as in the arrangement of the text, since the number of lines in the page was evidently considerably greater in 2066 than in 1895; the hand of the latter seems also to have been somewhat larger and perhaps rather later in date. There is not enough of 2066 to determine the quality of the text, but the fragment agrees with B so far as it goes. The verso is only just legible.

Recto.

Verso.

και ει εζησε χιλίων ε  
των [καθοδους  
και αγα[θω]συνημ ου  
κ ειδη[ν]

vi. 6

[αριθμον ημερων] ζωης  
15 [ματαιοτητος αυτου]  
[και εποιησεν] αυτα  
[εν σκια ]

vii. 1

5 μη ουκ [εις τοπον ενα	7	[οτι τις απαγγ]ελει τω
πορε[υεται		[ανθρωπω ]
πας μο[χθος ανθρωπου		20 [τι εσται οπισω α]υτου υ
εις σ[τομα αυτου		[πο τον ηλιου]
και γε η [ψυχη ου πλη		[αγαθου ονομα] υπερ ε
10 ρωθ[ησεται		[λαιου αγαθο]υ
οτι πε[ρίσσεια τω σοφω	8	[και ημερα του] θανατου
υπερ [τον αφρονα		25 [υπερ ημεραν] γεν
[διο]τι [ο πεινης οιδεν		[νησεως

6. There would be room for τα παντα (so B<sup>a</sup>C) after πορε[υεται] or πορε[υεται] (B<sup>a</sup>).

7. του may have preceded ανθρωπου as in B<sup>a</sup>C, if ανθρωπου was contracted.

9. η: so B<sup>a</sup>; om. AC.

11. οτι: no B<sup>a</sup>\*; οτι τις B<sup>a</sup>AC.

14. The scanty vestiges are very doubtfully identified.

16. αυτα: αυτας A.

21. After ηλιου A adds και καθως εστε τις απαγγελει αυτω.

24. του, which C omits, evidently stood in the papyrus.

25-6. γεν[ησεως]: so B; γενεσεως B<sup>a</sup>C. γεν[ησεως] would of course be a wrong division.

## 2067. NICENE CREED.

7.9 x 12.3 cm.

Fifth century.

The upper part of a sheet, of which Fol. 1 is occupied with a copy of the Nicene Creed, Fol. 2 verso with other matter, perhaps of an exegetical kind (cf. l. 16 with l. 9), the last page (Fol. 2 recto) being blank; Fol. 2 may therefore have been the last of the book, whatever it was, to which the sheet belonged. The number of lines on Fol. 1 recto can be estimated at twenty, and the height of the page, consequently, at about 17 or 18 cm. The script is a formal sloping book-hand, rather large and heavy, which may be assigned to the fifth century. This copy of the Nicene Creed, therefore, seems to be rather more ancient than that preserved in P. Ryl. 6, and is perhaps also older than 1784, an early copy of the Constantinopolitan Creed. The ink is of the brown kind common at this period.

For the text of this Creed the principal authorities are (1) a contemporary letter of Eusebius, extant in three chief recensions (Athanas. *De doctr. syn. Nic.*;





<p>Fr. 2 recto.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>]λαϊσ . . την [</p> <p>] την νομην [</p> <p>20 ] και ηρξάν[το</p> <p>]εθ[</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>Fr. 3 recto.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>] ημερα το[υ</p> <p>]ος και εν τ[</p> <p>]ν ολου του [</p> <p>] . ημερα τ[ου ?</p> <p>30 ]τος και . [</p> <p>ε]βδομον ου[ρανου ?</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>Fr. 4 recto.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>]ων [</p> <p>40 ]ν ε . [</p> <p>. . . . .</p>	<p>Fr. 2 verso.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>]ν . ε . ε . ε . ε χ[ε]</p> <p>] της χειρος μ[</p> <p>] υίων της [</p> <p>25 ] . ετ[</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>Fr. 3 verso.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>την] ερυθραν θ[αλασσαν</p> <p>] εις την μ . [</p> <p>]τα πολυ θ . [</p> <p>35 ]να . θειρ . [</p> <p>] . θαλασση]</p> <p>] τη ερυθρα θ[αλασση</p> <p>]τα κατε[</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>Fr. 4 verso.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>]εν . [</p> <p>]σαν[</p> <p>]τε . [</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>Fr. 5 recto.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>]κ</p> <p>45 ] ηυλη</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>Fr. 5 verso.</p> <p>. . . . .</p> <p>. . [</p> <p>λουτ[</p> <p>. . . . [</p> <p>. . . . .</p>
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3 sqq. Cf. e.g. *Apocalypse of Paul* 43 *ἀπεισιν εις τὸ ἀτερέωμι εἶδον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνεργάτου καὶ τὰ βροχὰ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον κατελθόντα μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀγγέλων κτλ.*

6-7. Perhaps *των ουρανῶν* or *αγιῶν, ἀγγέλων* being inadmissible as involving a wrong division. The same word may have occurred in ll. 2-3.

11. *[του ετερον]* is restored on the analogy of l. 2. For *κα]ι ηρξηται* cf. l. 20.

13. *ε[ις]*: the vestiges are very slight but do not suit *εἰδῶν* or *εθεωμήσαν*.

14-15. The sense is evidently similar to that of ll. 5-6.

22-3. Perhaps *εχο[μενος . . .] της χειρος μ[ου]*.

26-7. *το[υ ]ος*: apparently not *τη[ν] . . . κρισε]ωκ*; cf. ll. 28-9, where *κρισεωκ* is plainly excluded. *το[υ . . . κριματ]ος* seems not unlikely, as e.g. in Acts xxiv. 23 *τοῦ κριματου τοῦ μέλλοντος*; perhaps that very phrase was used. *εν τη] ημερα* would be a natural supplement both here and at l. 29.

27-8. If *κριματων* is to be restored in ll. 27 and 30 (see the preceding note), *εν τ[ω] τελει* and *ολου του [κοσμου]* would suit the context.

31. The 'seventh heaven' occurs e.g. in the *Ascension of Isaiah* iii. 13, 18 and *Herm. Past., Sim.* 9. 24. 1. Cf. Charles, *Slavonic Enoch*, xxx sqq.

2070. ANTI-JEWISH DIALOGUE.

30 x 11 cm. Late third century.

Of this fragment, though severely mutilated, the character is sufficiently clear. It belongs to a Christian treatise (l. 10) containing references to and quotations from the Old Testament, partly of an anti-Jewish tendency, partly of a Messianic kind; and the treatise was in the form of a dialogue (l. 30; cf. ll. 4 and 18). These characteristics leave no room for doubt that the fragment belongs to the polemical literature of which Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* is the oldest extant example. In argument against the Jews a large use was necessarily made of the Old Testament, whence the early apologists sought to prove not only that Christ was the promised Messiah but that His followers were the true chosen people, the Jews having forfeited their claim to be so regarded. Hence, in addition to prophecies corresponding with the facts of Christ's life, passages condemning the Jews or suggesting that their inheritance had passed to others were in much request. Three of the four quotations occurring in the present fragment are to be found already in Justin's *Dialogue* (§§ 27, 28, 78, 97 sqq.), and these and similar texts figure repeatedly in the later polemical treatises; a convenient list of such works, ancient and medieval, is given in A. C. McGiffert's *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*, pp. 12 sqq. (New York, 1889); cf. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, i. 3. Of the sixty treatises there enumerated, seventeen are in dialogue form, which was well adapted to the purpose in view. It is natural to suppose that in 2070 the disputants were, as usual, two, and in l. 30 one of them is specified as *δ φ( )*. How this abbreviation is to be expanded is uncertain. Since this character speaks just after an anti-Jewish quotation, he is likely to be the Jew and *δ Φαρισαῖος* would therefore be so far suitable. A dialogue between John and a Pharisee is included among some recently recovered Gnostic Apocrypha at Berlin. But *φ* may, of course, be the initial letter of a proper name, in which case *Φ(λων)* suggests itself as a possibility, especially as Philo figures in the 7th-8th-century dialogue printed by McGiffert in the dissertation already referred to; it is, however, questionable whether, though described in the title of the work as a Jew, Philo there was not originally the Christian interlocutor.

The authorship of the fragment remains unknown, but there is some reason for attributing it to a local writer. This is suggested by the frequent alterations which have been made in the text, apparently by the original hand, and are difficult to explain except on the hypothesis that we here have a fragment of the author's own manuscript. The substitution of *τὸ κατὰ τὴν* for *τὸ τῆς* in l. 43 and

of λογίων for γραφῶν in l. 45 can hardly be mere correction of copyist's errors, still less the remarkable treatment of the quotation in ll. 47 sqq., which has been cut about in a very arbitrary way. If this view is right, the date of composition will be towards the end of the third century, to which period the script, a round upright semicursive of medium size may be assigned. Stops in the middle position occur, and also paragraphi. A rough breathing appears to have been written in l. 15. Ἰησοῦς was contracted as usual, but ἄνθρωπος and υἱός are written in full. On the verso of Col. ii in a later cursive is ]φερονεως, with an ink smudge over the first two or three letters; this probably has no connexion with the text on the recto.

## Col. i.

	[	14 letters	εχ]θραινοντας
	[	16 "	]ταιως η οτι α
	[	15 "	] εκθραινοντας
	[	" "	]ς ειτα φησιν ε
5	[	" "	]α σου δια τι <sup>οτι αλ</sup> [[ο λαος]]
	[	<sup>λοτριος</sup>	. . . . . ον ουκ εγνω] εδουλωσε μοι
	[	εις ακοην ωτιου υπ]ηκουσε μοι τον	
	[	14 letters	] μηδεπω εγε[[ν]]νη
	[θη	9 "	αν]θρωπον ολον ηδη
10	[	15 "	]ετος περι του <sup>δι</sup> Ιη
	[	13 "	] μεντοι οτι πλειους
	[	. . . . . ? ηπιστησα]ν	αυτου τω λογω ο
	[	11 letters	ε]πειτα υπακουσωσιν
	[	10 "	το]ς πρωτοις αυτος ει
15	[	14 "	] ους ουδεπω τοιγαρ
	[	16 "	]ς τουτους δε <sup>αλ</sup> [[λα]]
	[	λοτριους . . . . . ]	<sup>ο]τι</sup> λογον ακου
	[	16 letters	ει]πεν αυτω. κε
	[	18 "	] . το υιοι αλ
20	[	λοτριου εψευσαντο]	μοι υιοι αλλο
	[	τριου 11 letters	] εμε υιοις αλλο

	[	τριους 10 "	<sup>το</sup> η εψευσαντο
	[	16 "	ω]νομαζον ουκε
	[	17 "	η <sup>αιε</sup> δι Ησα[[. . . . .]] <sup>πεφωνη</sup>
25	[	18 "	] τοις χειλεσι
	[	τιμωσι με η δε καρδια πορ]ρω απεσ	
	[	χεν απ εμου ματην δε σεβο]νται [[με]]	
	[	20 letters	] . εν αυτοις
	[	17 "	ου]κ ειδεναι ει
30	[	19 "	]ς και ο φ ειπε
	[	18 "	[[ με] <sup>λος τη</sup> χρις αυ]]
	[	" "	]λε ουκ ειδεναι
	[	19 "	]ως το ματην
	[	23 "	]νου
35	[	24 "	]νωσ
	[	22 "	] τοις γρα
	[	φεισι 16 "	]μεν εμει
	[	20 "	] περι αυ
	[	18 "	? φ]αινομενα
40	[	19 "	] ισως δια τον
	[	15 "	? εγρα]ψεν δι Ησαί[[α]]
	[	19 "	? η]μεις ος του
	[	" "	[[ ]τ αυτο]] <sup>κατα</sup> το την
	[	. 21 "	] των παλιν

## Col. ii.

45	[	<sup>λογίων</sup> [[γραφων]]	κατα μο . [
		κοτες οιον ως οτ[	εις χουν
		με θανατου κατη]γαγεσ οτι εκυκλωσαν	
		με κυνες συναγω]γη πονηρευομενων?	
		[[νων]] περιεσχον [με ωρυξαν χει	
50		ρας και ποδας μ]ου αυτοι δε κατε	

νοησαν και ε[[φ]]ει[δον με διεμερισαν τα ι  
 ματια μου [[εαν[τοις . . . . .  
 [[. . . . . [ about 16 letters  
 [[. . . . .]] βοθηειαν [μου [[εις την αντιλημ]]  
 55 [[ψιν μου]] προσχ[ες ρυσαι απο ρομφαι  
 as την ψυχην μου και απο κερατων  
 μονοκερωτων [την ταπεινωσιν μου  
 διηγησομαι το ονομα σου τοις  
 αδελφοις μου [. . . . .  
 60 . [ . . . . . ] . ε . [  
 . [  
 Η[  
 [  
 θ[  
 65 ν . [  
 λθ[  
 ρε[  
 2 lines lost  
 70 αν[  
 ι[  
 [[φ[  
 π[  
 εποι[  
 75 τ[.][ι[  
 με . [  
 τ[α[  
 ε[[ι]σ[  
 σ . [  
 80 πε[  
 κ[  
 των . [  
 πωτα . [  
 τρσηδ[

85 μωριαν[  
 τε κα . [  
 τασ[  
 εκ[

3. l. εχθρ. Cf. l. 1, where the same spelling may well have occurred.

4. φησιν: sc., apparently, the Christian interlocutor.

5-7. The reference to Ps. xvii. 44-5 (= 2 Kings xxii) seems clear; cf. ll. 19-20. In verse 44 the ordinary reading is λαος δν ούκ εγνω, and ο λαος originally stood in the papyrus, αλλοτριος apparently being subsequently substituted; cf. l. 16. How the first half of l. 6 was written remains uncertain: a deletion at the beginning is likely.

15. δvs seems inevitable; perhaps something has dropped out.

16-17. λαφους may have been originally written; cf. ll. 5-6.

19-21. Cf. Ps. xvii. 45-6 νιοι αλλοτριοι εψεύσαντό μοι, νιοι αλλοτριοι επαλαιώθησαν. 2 Kings xxii. 46 has απορριφήσονται in place of επαλ., but neither of these words suit εμε.

24. Neither the original nor the corrected spelling of the prophet's name is at all clear. In l. 41 Ησαΐα was first written, from which it would naturally be inferred that the intention was to substitute Ησαΐου, but this can hardly be reconciled with the remains in l. 24. It is also uncertain whether η is the last letter of the interlineation, and whether all or only some of the letters after Ησα were deleted. l. η δι' Ησ. πεφωνημένη?

25-7 = Is. xxix. 13. The ordinary reading is εγγίξει μοι ο λαος οδτος εν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, και εν τοις χ. αὐτῶν τιμ. με, η δὲ κ. αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει κτλ. NAQ, however, omit εν τῷ σ. αὐτοῦ και εν, and perhaps the papyrus agreed, εγγίξει . . . ουτος being of approximately the requisite length for the lacuna of l. 25. In l. 26 the addition of αυτων before τιμωσι and πορ]ρω would evidently make the supplement excessive; the first αυτων is omitted by the cursives 91 and 309, but there is apparently no authority for the omission of the second, which might perhaps be got in by reading με τιμα for τιμωσι με as in Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor. ii. 3, Theodoret i. 1502. απεσχεν (or απεσχηκεν) is a previously unattested variant.

39. φ]αινομενα: or possibly γ]εινομενα or γινομενα.

41. The cross-bar of the supposed ε extends right above ν, which is quite unusual, and ψ is also very doubtful. For the alteration of the name Ησαΐα cf. l. 24. The deletion perhaps included ι, as there.

42. η]μεις ος του: this division has been adopted because neither ἴσος, μῖσος, nor ὀστοῦ occur in Isaiah; but the words are not necessarily part of a citation.

43. ν of την corr. from s.

46-59 = Ps. xxi. 16-23.

47. με follows κατηγορες according to the ordinary text.

48. κννες πολλοι LXX.

49-50. χειρας μου και ποδας most MSS., but Nc. ARU add a second μου after ποδα. The papyrus omits the first half of verse 18 εξηριθμησαν πάντα τα ὀστᾶ μου.

51. διεμερισαν, the original reading in N, suits the lacuna better than the διεμερισαντο, but cannot of course be considered certain.

52-5. Possibly what was deleted above l. 52 was a rough breathing. After εαυτοις the ordinary reading is και ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον, which may well have stood in the papyrus, but owing to heavy deletion and damaged surface is not really recognizable. Verse 20 begins σὺ δέ, Κύριε, μὴ μακρόνης τὴν βοήθειάν μου, but there would not be room in l. 54 for κρυνης before βοθηειαν, and νης would not fill the space. That more than the first



two or three letters were deleted is not certain. A letter or two apparently also cancelled above the line make a further complication. The deletion of  $\psi\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$  in l. 55 presumably involves that of  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\iota\lambda\eta\mu$  in l. 54. It looks as if the reading finally left was  $\sigma\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa(\nu\rho\iota)\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta.$   $\mu\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma.$

56. The second half of verse 21 and the first of verse 22,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \kappa\nu\nu\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\ \mu\omicron\nu\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron}\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron}\varsigma,$  are left out; in view of the freedom of the citation the omission seems likely to be due to other grounds than the homoeoarchon of  $\kappa\alpha\iota.$

59-60. Whether the quotation extended beyond  $\mu\omicron\nu$  is doubtful. At any rate  $\phi\omicron[\beta\omicron\nu]\mu\epsilon\iota[\omicron\iota]$  cannot be read; the letter before  $\epsilon$  was probably  $\tau$  or  $\gamma.$

## 2071. FRAGMENT OF A DIALOGUE.

5.3 x 5.5 cm.

Sixth century.

In this small fragment, which would otherwise hardly be worth reproducing, a speaker is introduced whose name begins Atha—, of which Athanasius is the most natural completion. This person might be taken for the saint, but the name can also well be that of a speaker in a dialogue after the manner of 2070; the extant dialogue between Athanasius and Zacchaeus (ed. Conybeare in *Anecd. Oxon.* 1898) is not, however, the source of the fragment.

The text is written with brown ink in rather coarse, sloping uncials of sixth-century type. Stops in two positions occur.  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  is contracted in the usual way, but not  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron}\varsigma$ ;  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is abbreviated in l. 3. An angular critical sign in ink of the same colour as the text has been inserted in the margin opposite l. 11.

	Recto.		Verso.	
	. . . . .		. . . . .	
	] . . . . .		$\gamma . . . \varsigma\ \omicron\ \sigma\omicron\phi[$	
	] $\eta\nu\ \delta\nu\nu\alpha$	10	$\epsilon\mu\epsilon\theta\nu\sigma\alpha\sigma . [$	$\alpha\nu$
[ $\mu\iota\nu?$	] $\iota\varsigma . \kappa , \omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha$	7	$\delta\rho\iota\omega\tau\alpha\tau\omega . [$	
[ $\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron}\varsigma?$	$\alpha\nu]$ $\tau\omega$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota .$		$\tau\omicron\nu\ \overline{\chi\nu} . \eta\ \tau\alpha\sigma[$	
5	] $\eta\rho\ \tau\omega\ \epsilon[ . . .$		$\kappa . . . . \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\alpha[$	
	] $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega$		$. . \omicron\varsigma\ \nu\nu\gamma\ \epsilon . [$	$\eta$
[ $\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$	] $\gamma\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\ \alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$	15	$\nu\nu\sigma\alpha . \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau[$	
	? $\pi\omicron]$ $\rho\eta\epsilon\nu\sigma[ . .$		[ . . . ] . . [	

4.  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron}\varsigma$  or  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu]$   $\tau\omega$  may be restored.

## 2072. FRAGMENT OF AN APOLOGY.

11.6 x 4.8

Late third century.

A strip from the upper part of a papyrus leaf, written in a sloping, somewhat informal book-hand, which may well go back to about the end of the third century; the lettering on the verso is rather larger and heavier than on the recto, but the formation is the same. A rough breathing is noticeable in l. 26, and the apostrophe between double consonants is used. A stop in the middle position occurs once; a pause may also be denoted by a space in l. 28. That the leaf came from a book of some size is clear from the pagination, which shows that at least fifty leaves had preceded; but not enough remains of the figures to indicate whether recto or verso come uppermost. In the latter the coming of Christ the Saviour is spoken of, and the recto apparently commends the communistic society of his followers, who shared misfortunes no less than benefits. Some early Christian apology like that of Aristides would be an appropriate source of these passages, and if the author was describing the Christian community of his own day, he can hardly have been writing at a later period than the second century; but his identity is still to be determined.

	Recto.		Verso.
	] $\gamma$		$\rho[$
	] $. \omicron\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omega\nu [$		] $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\iota\kappa\omega . [$
	] $. \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon[$		] $\eta\mu\alpha\iota\ \alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho[$
	] $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\tau\omicron}$	20	] $\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\iota\ \mu\eta\ \beta[$
5	] $\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \chi\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\ \kappa[$		] $\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\pi\alpha\acute{\xi}\alpha\pi[$ $\lambda\omega\varsigma$
	] $\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha[$ $\varsigma$		$\omicron\nu] \kappa' \alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda' \lambda[ \alpha$
	] $\gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\tau' \tau\eta\theta\eta\nu[ \alpha\iota$		? $\overline{\iota\varsigma}] \overline{\chi\rho\iota\varsigma}\ \omicron\ \alpha\pi\omicron\tau\alpha[$
	] $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \omicron\iota\eta\sigma\iota\nu [$		] $\rho\ \tau\omega\ \overline{\iota\eta\lambda}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha[ \sigma\iota?$
	] $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron[$	25	$\tau\omicron\iota] \varsigma\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\sigma\iota [$
10	$\alpha] \delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron}\varsigma\ \sigma\nu\nu . [$		$\alpha\nu] \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omega\ \theta\omega\ \acute{\omicron}\nu . [$
	$\alpha\iota\delta] \epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\omega\nu . \tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon[ \nu\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\alpha$		] $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon[$
	] $\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau[$		] $\nu\ \overline{\chi\rho\nu}\ \omicron\ \alpha\nu\tau[ \omicron\varsigma$
	] $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\iota\nu\alpha [$		] $\omicron\nu\ \pi\nu\nu\theta\alpha\nu . [$
	] $\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\nu [ \kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha$	30	$\kappa] \alpha\iota\ \acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\nu\kappa\ \alpha\gamma\eta[$



## 2074. APOSTROPHE TO WISDOM (?).

Fol. 1 14.5 × 11.8 cm.

Fifth century.

The nature of the work from which the following text is derived is not very clear. It is contained on parts of two papyrus leaves, of which one, though in a poor state of preservation, is not far from being complete; the second is only represented by a small fragment, which is lighter in colour than the other, and therefore likely to have belonged to a different sheet. Which leaf preceded is unknown; that the two are more or less closely related is evident from the similarity in form of Fol. 2 verso to Fol. 1. These have a series of sentences beginning 'Thou art', frequently followed by the feminine article and a past participle; the several sentences are generally, but not always, separated by double dots. The style recalls that of the latter part of 1380, an elaborate apostrophe to Isis; and this analogy and the phraseology of ll. 13-14 at first sight suggested that 2073 might be an address to the Virgin Mary. Mr. Brightman, however, to whom I am indebted for some comments, is probably right in thinking that it is an apostrophe not to any Person but to Wisdom, perhaps forming part of a rhetorical sermon; cf. l. 1, ll. 5-7, n., and e. g. the homily of St. John of Damascus on the Annunciation (*Hom.* 5, Migne, xcvi. 647 sqq.), which consists almost entirely of a series of sentences beginning *χαίρε* or *χαίροις*.

Line 2 of Fol. 2 verso is followed by a blank space, which may mark the commencement of a new subject or section. There is nothing to show which side of this fragment came uppermost; though the recto, which is disfigured by ink stains, is not certainly in the same style as the rest, it may have been so; at any rate the double dot is used apparently in l. 48 and perhaps also in l. 50 (cf. n.). With regard to the precedence of recto or verso of Fol. 1, the left edge of the recto is fairly straight, whereas the right is torn irregularly, a circumstance which is somewhat in favour of supposing that the left was the outer edge, in which case the verso of this particular leaf lay uppermost in the quire. The medium-sized upright hand is well formed but rather heavy, and is not likely to be earlier than the fifth century;  $\omega$  has a slightly projecting central stroke, a form found also in the Codex Sinaiticus and P. Ryl. 28. The brown-coloured ink is typical of the period.

Fol. 1 recto.

[.] . . . αζ . [ . . . . . ] σο  
 φιλαν την [ . . . . . ] αν  
 . . . . αλ . . . . σ . [ . . . . ] ν πινά

την παρθενον . [ . . . ]τος την  
 5 του πρς εννοιαν [: σ]ν ει το απαυ  
 γασμα και αυτ . [ . . . ] ομοιω  
 εις του πρς [: συ ε]ι το διαδημα  
 του φωτος [ο συ]νδεσμος τω  
 φωστηρω[ν . . . ]νπ . . . α . . .  
 10 πλουτου [ . . . . . ]μονεια : συ ει  
 [η .]χ[ . . ]ν[ . . ] . ψ . . . σα και την  
 βουλησιν του πρς τελειωσαι προ  
 ελθουσα [:] συ η τω σωματι αυτου  
 περιβλημα γενομενη : συ ει  
 15 η τελειωσασα αυτου το σπουδασ  
 μα δυναμει τη ση : συ ει η ανει  
 χνευσασα τα βαθη και συστησα  
 σα τα υψη συ ει η τα αποκρυφα του  
 σκοτους εκ[καλυψ]ασα και θραν  
 20 σασα αυτου [την εξουσι]αν [κ]αι την  
 δυναμιν . [

Fol. 1 verso.

[ . . . . . ] . . . ους και [ . . . . . ]  
 . [ . . . . . ] τα αμνητη  
 ρει[α . . . . . ] . . . [ . ]κατα εκ  
 25 του ε[ . . . . . ] . του τα μελη του  
 θανα[του π]αιδησασα εγ υψει  
 . . . θα[ . . . . . ] . τα φαν[ε]ρα διξα  
 σα και . σ[ . . . . . ]α]ποκρυψασα  
 συ ει η του [ . . . . . ]ου βαθου π . .  
 30 . . θωσα κ[ . . . . . ] . αρξειν αυ  
 του θηρα . [ . . . . . ]νλω εισ . .  
 ταυτην . . . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . .  
 παν προς το εξαλειφεσθαι  
 τα σενη συ ει η τη σ[η] δυναμι  
 35 και του σκοτους δυναστευσα

C 2

σα και το βαθος αυτου κηρυξα  
 σα εν τω αυτου τοπω: συ ει η υ  
 ποδησα[σ]α τον θανατον και  
 την ζωην χωρη[ς] γαρ σου ου  
 40 δεμ γει[νε . . . . .]εσηση επι  
 [. . . . .]η ουσα εκ

Fol. 2 recto.

. . . . .  
 [. . .] . . . [  
 . [ . . ] κ̄ε εκκλ[ . . . ] . ενα . [ . . ]  
 [ . . . τ]ελειον [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
 45 [ . . . ]ραν σκ . [ . . . . . ] συ ει η κα]ταπιουσ[α το]ν  
 εξαλειψαν σ[ . . . ] 55 [θανατον και το] κεντρον αυ  
 εβουληθησ[ . . . ] [του νικησασα?]: συ ει η τω  
 . . . . . ενα: . [ . . . . . ]εισα και τα παν  
 ε . . . γορεισ[ . . . ] [τα . . . . . ]του παντος  
 50 [ . . . . . ]α . [ . . . . . ] κατα[ . . ]τα[ . . . ]  
 . . . . .

Fol. 2 verso.

4. ]πος is possible but not π]ρος.

5-21. 'Thou art the effulgence and the very likeness (?) of the Father; thou art the crown of light, the bond of the luminaries . . . ; it was thou who . . . and camest forth to fulfil the Father's will; it was thou who becamest his corporeal covering; it was thou who didst fulfil his purpose by thy might; it was thou who didst search out the depths and assemble the heights; it was thou who didst reveal the secrets of darkness and break its power and its might.'

5-7. Cf. Soph. Sal. vii. 26 ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστι (sc. σοφία) φωτὸς διδίου . . . καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ θεοῦ). The word ἀπαύγασμα is used of Christ in Heb. i. 3 ἀπαύγ. τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. ομοιω εἰς is apparently for ομοιωσεις: the last letter is incomplete, but that εἰς not εκ, was written seems sufficiently clear; cf. εἰκὼν κτλ. in the passage cited from Soph. Sal. Perhaps ἀντὶ [η παρ]ομοιωσεις may be restored.

8. ο of του has been corrected, perhaps from ω. There is insufficient space for και in the lacuna, but συ συ]νδ. is possible.

13. The analogy of ll. 15 and 20 suggests that αυτου should be constructed with περιβλημα rather than σωματι; the sentiment is remarkable in either case. Cf. Rev. xii. 1 γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον, P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 231. 3 υἱὸν μονογενῆ περιβέβλημα[ι].

17. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10 τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ.

19. εκ[καλυψ]ασα: κ is very doubtful and e.g. εμ[φαν(ε)ω]ασα would be equally suitable.

20. The remains at the end of the line are slight and the reading adopted quite uncertain.

21. δυναμω was perhaps followed by κ[αι or another participle, e.g. ν[ικησασα]; the vestiges suggest a letter rather than a stop.

22. και probably ended the line.

26. 1. π]εδησασα.

27. και is possible at the beginning of the line.

29-30. 1. βαθους. ελθωσα for ελθουσα could well be read in l. 30, but the difficulty then is to explain the end of l. 29, the last two letters of which look most like ει, though possibly the former is ο and the latter is ρ. To suppose that πορ was written for προ is not very satisfactory, though cf. l. 12.

31. ]υλω εἰς: or perhaps ]υνθεισ or ]χηθεισ.

36-7. το βαθος κηρυξασα: 'proclaimed its depth', having previously searched it out; cf. ll. 16-17.

40. Perhaps γει[νεται ποτ]ε, η ση επι-; cf. John i. 3 χαρις αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἔν.

43. The apparent mark of contraction is possibly due to the smudging which has considerably disfigured the recto of this fragment; the supposed κ is also very doubtful.

50. The stop after α may well have been the usual colon, of which the lower dot has been lost. That σ[υ followed is possible, though a σ is not strongly suggested.

54-6. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 54-5 κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος . . . ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον.

59. τα probably ended the line.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

2075. HESIOD, *Catalogue*.

Fr. 1 26.3 × 39.3 cm.

Late second century.  
Plate I (Frs. 4, 6).

A further addition is here made to the already considerable remains of the Hesiodic Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν which have recently come from Egypt; cf. 1358. int. That that work is the source of the present text is sufficiently plain from its own evidence, apart from the not improbable occurrence of a verse known from a citation (Fr. 4. 1, n.), and a partial coincidence<sup>1</sup> with P. Berlin 9777 (*Berl. Klassikertexte*, v. 1, p. 22, Rzach, *Hesiodica*, ed. 3, Fr. 135, Evelyn White, *Hesiod*, p. 214). The Berlin papyrus is an upper corner of a leaf attributed to the fourth century and containing on one side ('recto') the beginnings of twenty-five verses, on

<sup>1</sup> The possibility of this was suggested by Mr. J. U. Powell. This is the second case of Hesiodic papyri from Oxyrhynchus and at Berlin supplementing one another; cf. Evelyn White, *Class. Quart.* vii. 217.

the other the ends of nineteen more. Of the recto the subject was easily recognizable: it relates to the family of Oeneus, and in particular to Meleager and Deianira, whose adventures are briefly related. The ends of several of these lines are now recovered in the fragmentary first column of the main fragment of 2075, necessitating certain modifications in the reconstruction adopted by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *editio princeps* and by subsequent editors. Col. ii, fortunately, is in a good state of preservation. In the upper portion (ll. 16-23) the apotheosis of Heracles, after his death owing to the unwitting action of Deianira, and his reconciliation with Hera are described, but this passage, which has resemblances to Homer, *H.* xv, and Hesiod, *Theog.* 950 sqq., was apparently regarded as spurious, for the lines are each marked with an obelus. Deianira is followed (l. 24) by Hypermestra, wife of Oecles and mother of Amphiaras, Iphianira, and Endeus, the last of whom is not otherwise recorded. By this combination with the recto of P. Berlin 9777 a more or less consecutive piece of forty lines is satisfactorily obtained. The relative position of the verso of the Berlin leaf, the subject of which is quite uncertain, remains a matter of doubt. There is no coincidence with the second column of Fr. 1 of 2075; the leaf may have been tall enough to include on the recto sixteen further verses or more, but it is just as likely as not that the verso preceded. Of the minor fragments of 2075 one (Fr. 2) is concerned with Aetolian genealogy, another probably with Timandra, daughter of Tyndareus (Fr. 4).

This manuscript was an unusually sumptuous one, written in large calligraphic uncials and having deep margins above and below the columns. The letters rival in size those of P. Tebt. 265, but in formation approximate to the so-called biblical type, of which other early examples are 661 and P. Ryl. 16; like those specimens, 2075 is probably to be dated towards the end of the second century. Marks of elision have been inserted with some frequency, and there is a circumflex accent in Fr. 1. 3; these, like the occasional paragraphi and the critical signs in Fr. 1. ii, are probably secondary. No stops occur.

## Fr. 1. Col. i.

[ανδρων ηρωων οπο|τ ]  
 [αλλ υπ Απολλωνος χερσιν ]  
 [μαρναμενος Κου|ρησι γυναικι δε πειθετ]ο κεδνηι  
 [τους δ αλλους Οιν|ηι τεκεν Πορθαονος υιωι]  
 5 [Φηρεα θ ιπποδα|μον Περιφαντα τε καρτεροθυ|μον  
 [Τοξέα τε Κλυμενον | τ Αγελεων τ αταλ|αυ|τον Αρ]ηι  
 [Γοργην τ ηυ|κομον και επιφρονα Δη]|[ανειρ]αν

[η τεχ υποδηθεισα | βηι Ηρακληει]ηι [ ]  
 [Υλλον και Γληνον κ|αι Κτησιππον] και Ορειτην  
 10 [τους τεκε και δειν|ον τευξεν ποσει] μεγαθυμωι  
 [οποτε φαρμακο|ν ουλον ενιστα]ξασα χιτωνι  
 [λωπος (?) κη|ρα μελαιναν εχον προυπεμ]ψεν ανακτι  
 [μω] ]θωι  
 [δ] ]ο παρεστη  
 15 [ ]το δ[ε]ρμα

## Fr. 1. Col. ii.

— νυν δ ηδη θεος εστι κακων δ εξηλυθε παντων [ ]  
 — ζωει δ' ενθα περ αλλοι Ολυμπια δωματ' εχον[τες]  
 — αθανατος και αγηρος εχων καλλ[ισ]φυρον Ηβη|ν  
 — παιδα Διος μεγαλοιο και Ηρης χρυσοπεδι|ου  
 20 — τον πριν μεν ρ' ηχθηρε θεα λευκωλενος Ηρ|η  
 — εκ τε θεων μακαρων [εκ] τε θνητων ανθρω|πων  
 — νυν δ ηδη πεφιληκε τειε δε μιν εξοχον αλλ[ω]ν  
 — αθα|νατ|ων μετα γ' αυτον ερισθενεα Κ[ρο]ν[ι]ων[ι]α  
 δ[ε]ια δ Υπερμηστρη λαων αγων Αμφιαρην  
 25 γε|ινατ' Οικληος θαλερον λεχος εισαναβασα  
 Αργει εν ιπποβοτωι πολεων ηγητορα λαων  
 ος γ' αγαθος μεν εην αρετηι αγαθος δε μαχεσθ[αι]  
 ε[σ]θλος δ εν πραπιδεσσι φιλος δ ην αθανατοισι  
 γεινατο δ' Ιφιανειραν επηρατον ειδος εχουσα|ν  
 30 Ενδηον τε ανακτ' ανδρων ηνν τε μεγαν τε

## Fr. 2.

[ιτην θ' ελικοβ|λεφαρον τε  
 Π|ορθαων [ ]  
 ] . εγεινα[το ] ευνη[ ]  
 Αλ|καθρον . [ ]  
 5 ] Ιπποδα|μα- ]  
 ]ρατος δε Πυλ|ην- ?

## Fr. 3.

[ ]  
 ] ευνη[ ]  
 ]  
 ]η . [ . . . ] . . .  
 5 ανθρω|πων αλεγεσκη



(sc. e. g. βασιλευς), which city was the head-quarters of Echemus. The difficulty is the occurrence of Λαοδοκο[ν] in l. 4. Apollo and Phubia had a son of that name according to Apollodorus, i. 7. 6, and there is also the better known Argonaut, son of Bias and Pero (Apollod. iii. 6. 4, Apoll. Rhod. i. 119), but no connexion is traceable between either of these and Timandra. Since therefore the reading in l. 1 is practically assured, it seems simplest to suppose this Laodocus to be an otherwise unrecorded son of Echemus and Timandra; cf. the unknown son of Oecles and Hypermestra in Fr. 1. 30.

3. l. αφνεος.

2076. SAPPHO, BOOK II.

8.6 x 4.1 cm.

Second century. Plate I.

This small fragment contains the ends and beginnings of lines of two columns, the second being the conclusion of the poem on Hector and Andromache which was partially recovered in 1232. The text of this second column has already been printed in an appendix to Lobel's edition of the Fragments of Sappho, pp. 77-8. Besides filling the initial lacunae of 1232. i. iii. 1-2, it adds the beginnings of the preceding six verses. Moreover, a very satisfactory combination can now be made between the last four verses of Fr. 2 of that papyrus and the first four of the new one, thus confirming the position of Fr. 2 at the bottom of Col. ii of 1232. Fr. 1, and proving that only two lines are lost at the top of Col. iii. How many verses, if any, intervened between l. 20 of Col. ii and l. 1 of Fr. 2 is still unknown. 2076. Col. i consists of remains of scholia (this is the first papyrus of Sappho to show frequent explanatory annotations), between which and Col. i of 1232 there is no evident relation; but the hand of 2076 is small, ll. 13-24 occupying only 4.5 cm., so that there would be plenty of room between i. 12 and ii. 1 (13) for the twenty-one lines of 1232. Fr. 1. i, the first two lines of Fr. 2, and several intervening verses.

Below Col. ii is written the title Σαπφο[ῶς μελωδῶν] β, 'The second book of the poems of Sappho'. The Andromache poem in 1232 was also followed by a title (without the number of the book), in which μελη was thought to be a more probable reading than μελωδῶν. But in consideration of the present definite evidence that this poem was the last of the book, it now seems likely that μελωδῶν β is after all correct no less in 1232 than in 2076. At any rate, the suggestion that in the former papyrus a piece in different metre preceded the *Marriage of Andromache*, and that the roll contained a selection of Sappho's works (1232. iii. 8, n.), is now to be withdrawn. Whether what was alternatively suggested (Part XIII, p. 45) as an explanation of the short first column in 1232, namely, that the title of the book originally stood there, the *Marriage of Andromache* being an addendum, is right, remains uncertain. That piece belongs to the

'abnormal' poems of Sappho (cf. Lobel, *op. cit.*, p. xxv sqq.) and perhaps was not included in all copies of the second book. Possibly, as conjectured by Wilamowitz, who regards the poem as spurious (*N. Jahrb. f. kl. Alt.* xxxiii (1914), p. 230), the vacant space was partially occupied by a grammarian's note concerning its doubtful authenticity.

The rather small upright hand is not far removed from cursive; a form of σ in which the two strokes composing the letter overlap to a considerable extent in the middle occurs in l. 17. The cursive annotations may well have been written by the same hand, and there is no reason to suppose that the occasional accents, marks of quantity, &c., are not also original. Stops in the middle position appear in ll. 19-20. The manuscript may be referred with probability to the first half of the second century.

Col. i.	Plate I.	Col. ii.
	]	ορματα[
1	] . ια	αυλοσδαδ[.]ελη . [
2	] . οιδ'	15 καιψ[.]φο[.]ροταλ[
3	]ειλε	αιιδονμελοσαγ[
	]	αχωθεσπεσιαγελ[
	]	πανταιδησκατδδο[
4	] .	κρατηρεσφιαλαιτ.ο[
5	] . λερα αλιτ'	20 μυρρα.καικασια.λιβ[
6	]πατήματα	γυναικεσδολολυζο[
	]	παντεσδανδρεσεπ[
	]	πάονονκαλεοντεσ[
7	]ωσπαροι	υμνηδεκτορακα[
8	]μιν	
	]	
9	]ρανυμ	25 σαπφο[
10	]φον	β [
	]	. [ . . . . . ] . αρεφιλειδυ[
	]	
11	]ονιδι	
12	] . α	
	]	
	]	

3. Or ]ειτε.

4. All that is visible is part of a horizontal stroke, which might belong e. g. to a γ, ε, σ, or τ. Possibly the letter belonged to the text, not to an adscript (cf. l. 7, n.); at any rate this line is not to be connected with ll. 5-6.

5-6. The first λ (?) is preceded by a vestige high in the line, which does not well suit δ]ολ, σφ]αλ or ε]λλ; μέρ]μερα would be still less satisfactory. If δ]πατήματα is right, the preceding word may be αλιτ(ήρια), but some trace of the initial α might be expected, and perhaps ]πατήματα should be read.

7. The doubtful τ is rather larger than the rest of the note, and possibly it is a σ and the last letter of a line of the text; cf. n. on l. 4.

9-10. πα]ράνυμφον was perhaps a gloss on θυρωρών; cf. Hesych. θυρωρός· δ παράνυμφος and Sappho, Fr. 98 (Lobel, p. 48).

11. υ, if that is the right reading, could represent ύπό or ύπερ. The coronis in Col. ii is carried down to the level of this line and a rounded mark on the right side of it might be

Col. i.	Col. ii, with 1232. Fr. 2 and Fr. 1, Col. iii.
	[ ]κελοι θεοι[s
	[ ] αγνον αολ[λ
	13 ορματα[ ]νον ες "Ιλιον
	αυλος δ' αδυ[μ]έλης [κιθάρα ?] τ' όνε-
1	] . ια
2	] . οι δ(ε)
3	]ειλε
	15 και ψ[δ]φο[s κ]ροτάλ[ων, ? λιγέ]ως δ' άρα
	πάρ[θ]ενοι
	αιιδον μέλος αγν[ον, ίκα]νε δ' ες αϊθ[ερα
	αχω θεσπεσία γελ[
4	] .
5	] . λερα αλιτ( )
6	? δ]πατήματα
	20 μύρρα και κασία λίβ[ανός τ' όνεμείχυντο,
	γύναικες δ' όλόλυσοδ[ον υσαι προγενέστεραι,
	πάντες δ' άνδρες έπ[ή]ρατον ίαχον όρθιον
7	]τ( ) ως παροι-
8	]μίαν.
	Πάον' όγκαλέοντες [έκάβ]ολον εύλύραν,
	ύμνην δ' "Εκτορα κΑ[νδρομάχαν θεοει-
	κέλοις.
9	πα]ράνυμ-
10	]φον.
	25 Σαπφο[υ]ς μελ[ων
	β [
11	]ον ύ(π) δι-
12	] . α
	. [ . . . . . ] γάρ έφίλει δυ[
	]

taken for a suspended δ to be connected with δι, i. e. διδ( ); but there is a rather similar mark, which is certainly no letter, on the left side of the top of the coronis.

12. The column may have ended at this point, but the bottom edge of the papyrus is uneven and quite consistent with further prolongation.

17. The slight remains of the last letter best suit λ, μ, or χ. To restore γέλ[ασαν is not legitimate, even in an 'abnormal' poem (cf. Lobel, p. xli); perhaps γέλ[ος.

19. Besides the dot opposite the middle of τ there is another on the edge of a hole some way above, which was perhaps unintentional, unless it be the top of a sign of elision; but it is rather high for this.

20. Lobel's restoration of μύρρα is confirmed. At the end of this verse his όνεμείχυντο is probably the right reading, though the difference in spelling shown by l. 14 is curious.



21. ολολυσοδ[ν: ε]λελυσοδ[ο]ν with v. l. -ξα[ν] 1282. iii. 3.  
 23. πάον: so 1282. iii. 5. The spelling is best left unaltered. Above the ν there is a hole in which a mark of elision may be lost.  
 27. To what this line, which is on a level with l. 11, refers is obscure.

2077. SOPHOCLES, *Nauplius*?

Fr. 2 13.1 x 9.9 cm.

Late second or early  
third century.

This was a handsome manuscript, written in a rather large calligraphic script of the oval sloping type common in the latter part of the second and in the third century; the present is a by no means late specimen of the style, and may be dated approximately A. D. 200. To the occasional accents, breathings, marks of elision, &c., more hands than one have contributed, to judge from the fact that the breathing in Fr. 2. ii. 18 is of a different shape and more lightly formed than those, for instance, in ll. 13 and 17. The former is perhaps original, and the more numerous secondary signs may well be due to the corrector whose hand is seen in Fr. 2. i. 13, ii. 6; to whom the stops, which are of all three kinds, are to be credited is, as usual, a more difficult question, but of no particular importance.

The most considerable fragment (2) contains remains of two columns, of the first of which no more than a few final letters are preserved, though there is enough to show that some, at any rate, of the lines were lyric. Col. ii, to the top of which Fr. 1 may well belong, is in better case, presenting portions of twenty-five consecutive verses, but all unfortunately defective at the end. Of the central passage, however (ll. 10 sqq.), the general drift is fairly clear. The speaker has to beware of Greek ships, but hopes to make his way to Chalcodon (king of Euboea); and there is a reference to departure by sea from the present scene. Professor Murray, to whom I am indebted for valuable assistance with 2077-8, makes the suggestion that this speaker is Nauplius, and the play the *Ναύπλιος Πυρκαεύς* of Sophocles. This, as is plain from the title, related to the wrecking of the Greek fleet by Nauplius, who in revenge for the murder of his son Palamedes lit false beacons on the south coast of Euboea, and so lured the storm-driven ships on to the rocks; cf. Schol. Eurip. *Or.* 432 *Ναύπλιος δὲ ἀκούσας ἤκεν εἰς Ἴλιον δικάσαι τὸν φόνου τοῦ παιδός. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατολιγωρούντων αὐτοῦ . . . ἀποπλεύσας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πυθόμενος ἀποπλεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤκεν εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ χεῖμῶνα φυλάξας φρυκτωρίας ἤψε περὶ τὰς ἄκρας τῆς Εὐβοίας. οἱ δὲ ἐνεπίβητον νομίσαντες τὸν τόπον προσορμίζονται καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ἀπόλλυνται, Eurip. *Hel.* 767 τὰ Ναυπλίου τ' Εὐβοϊκὰ πυρπολήματα, Hygin. 116. The text of the papyrus, so far as it can be followed, will conform*

well enough to this story. Nauplius having arranged, or perhaps having just effected, the shipwreck of the Greeks, is concerned for his own safety. To put to sea is for the present too dangerous, and he therefore proposes to take refuge with Chalcodon, with whom concealment would be easy (Fr. 2. ii. 16 *ναίοντα κευθμῶν[as]*) until the coast was clear and could be quitted with more security. That Nauplius should speak of sailing away is natural, for he should not be regarded as an Euboean chieftain—at any rate the Scholiast on Eurip. *Or.* 432, quoted above, clearly conceived his *πατρίς* as other than Euboea, presumably Argolis (cf. R. Wagner in Roscher, *Lexikon*, iii. 1. 27). Whether the *Ναύπλιος Καταπλέων*, which is also cited as a play of Sophocles, was identical with the *Ναύπλιος Πυρκαεύς* is a disputed point which need not be considered here; for a recent discussion see Pearson's *Fragments of Sophocles*, ii, pp. 80 sqq. The Nauplius legend was further treated by Sophocles in his *Palamedes*: dramatists found the subject attractive, for plays with the same title were written also by Aeschylus, Euripides, the younger Astydamas, and Philiscus, and a *Nauplius* is credited to Astydamas, Lycophron, and Philocles. Sophocles, however, is the only author of a *Nauplius* of which fragments have survived, and if the subject of 2077 has been correctly surmised, the attribution to Sophocles would be a natural, though of course not a necessary, consequence; the style seems to be rather in favour of that hypothesis. A partial coincidence with an extant line of the *Nauplius* is noteworthy, but inconclusive (Fr. 2. ii. 8, n.).



Fr. 3. ἦ δ' ἄν προσωγησθησδ' ἄν . [   
 20 νυνδεσχολλησεκατι.τοιμε[   
 . . . [   
 ] . . [   
 ]τολ[   
 ]ερτ[   
 . . .   
 25 ] . [

Fr. 1. 1. ἄκρας (rather than μ]ακράς), with πολυφθ[ύρ . . and διώλεσαν in the following line, will well suit the supposed situation; cf. the passage quoted in the introd. from Schol. Eurip. *Or.* 432. On the other hand what remains of l. 4 is less in keeping.

3. Perhaps ] . αν η̄.

5. Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 384 τλάμονι καὶ πανούργῳ χειρί.

Fr. 2. i. 13. ἄνω presumably refers to a further entry in the upper margin.

ii. 3. καλω[ : or κλαω[.

5. Or λιμήν τ' ἐν α[.

6. ἔχθρ[ς]: there is no sign of a ρ, so that ἐχθρά[ν] is inadmissible, though a good antithesis could be obtained with μηθ' ὅστις ἐ[χθρ] . . in the next verse.

8. This line coincides, so far as it goes, with ἐπέυχομαι δὲ νυκτὶ τῇ κατουλάδι, which is cited from the *Nauplius* by Photius, *Lex.*, p. 150. 9 (Fr. 400 Nauck, Fr. 433 Pearson), but that verse does not combine very well with l. 9.

10. Perhaps τί δ[ή] or δ[ή]τα, or e. g., as Murray suggests, τί δ' [ἡμῶν ἐν τοιοῦτῳ πρακτέον

ἦ δ' ἄν πρόσω γῆς τῆσδ' ἄν . [   
 20 νῦν δὲ σχολῆς ἕκατι τοὶ μέ[ν] ?   
 γῆς ε . . [ . θα]υμάζοντες· οἱ δ[ὲ]   
 κο[ . . . . . ]χουσιν. αὔρ[ιον]   
 η[ . . . . . ] ? χωρο]ῦμεν οἱ γ[   
 [ . . . . . ]σιν. οὐ γὰρ   
 25 ] . [

For εἶέν (εἶέν), which is found similarly written in medieval MSS. cf. Uhlig, *Rhein. Mus.* xix. 33 sqq.

11. The remains after κατα are slight but appear consistent only with ζ or ξ. If the shipwreck be supposed to have already been accomplished, perhaps καταξ[ανθείσι κῶμα πληθύνει] might serve.

13. The line may be completed [ἄσκοπ' ἄν σκάφη] (Murray).

15-16. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 489 τὰ Χαλκώδοντος Εὐβοίας σταθμά. In l. 16 l. e. g. κευθμῶν[as Εὐβοΐδος χθονός.

17. A downward stroke after πε is hardly long enough for ρ, and better suits e. g. ι, μ, π.

18. The last letter is either γ or π: a similar doubt arises in l. 23.

20. τοι here seems to be the demonstrative pronoun, as in Aesch. *Pers.* 424; metre and the stop after εκατι combine to exclude the enclitic.

21. γησ: or γηθ.

23. Cf. l. 18, n.

2078. EURIPIDES (?), *Pirithous*.

Fr. 2 10.9 × 10.5 cm.

Second century.  
Plate III (Fr. 5).

The following fragments of a tragedy are written in a small sloping hand of an informal, rapid type dating from about the middle or latter part of the second century. No lection signs occur except the paragraphus, which is as usual employed to mark alternations of dialogue. Short final vowels, followed by another vowel, are in several places written out instead of being elided.

As at present reconstructed there are five fragments, of which only two contribute materially towards an identification of the play. Fr. 1, a strip from the bottom of a column, contains the beginnings of twenty lines which formed part of a descriptive speech. The occurrence in this of the names 'Ελλην[ (l. 5) and Νεφέλη (l. 9), together with references to an altar (l. 6) and madness (ll. 7, 14), at first suggested the story of Athamas; Fr. 2, however, which is occupied with a dialogue between Heracles and Theseus, is not easily connected with that story, for though Sophocles represented Athamas as having been rescued by Heracles when about to be sacrificed (Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 257), Theseus, so far as we know, played no part. Fr. 2 is the better starting-point. There Heracles, who is engaged on one of his labours in the service of Eurystheus (ll. 32, 34), has been asked for assistance by Theseus (l. 33), who refuses to abandon a captive friend (ll. 26-7). This situation is strongly reminiscent of the mission of Heracles to fetch Cerberus from Hades, where he found Theseus and Pirithous, who had gone there in order to seek Persephone as a bride for Pirithous and had been kept in captivity for their presumption (Hygin. *Fab.* 79). As observed by Professor Murray, Fr. 1 can be readily linked with Fr. 2 by supposing that the former is concerned with the father of Pirithous, Ixion. Νεφέλην γυναῖκα (l. 9) is no less suitable to him than to Athamas, and the mentions of *μανία*, and of punishment inflicted by the gods (l. 13) are quite in accordance with the Ixion legend. 'Ελλην[ in l. 5 must then be some form of 'Ελλην or 'Ελληνικός, not 'Ελλη. Lines 17-18, where apparently there is a reference to the Boreadae, and somebody is said to have been torn in pieces, remain obscure, though not more so than they would be in connexion with Athamas. Perhaps the fragment formed part of the prologue of the play, but the identity of ἐγώ in l. 20 is not clear.

Two dramas on the subject of Pirithous are recorded, one by Achaëus, of which only a couple of words have survived in a citation by Hesychius, the other commonly reckoned among the tragedies of Euripides but of doubtful authenticity and attributed by some to Critias; cf. Athen., p. 496 b δὲ τὸν Πειρίθου

γράφας, εἶτε Κριτίας ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος ἢ Εὐριπίδης, and *Vita Eurip.* p. 135. 33 νοθεύεται τρία, Τέννης, 'Ραδάμανθους, Πειρίθους. It will be natural to seek the source of 2078 in the latter of these. Some thirty-five lines of it have been preserved, among them the well-known apostrophe to the Creator, quoted by Clement of Alexandria (Nauck, Fr. 593), σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυῶ τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ ῥύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ', κτλ. Not very much can be gleaned from them regarding its structure; but from the express statement of Schol. Tzetz. ap. *Anecd. Oxon.* iii. 359. 22 we know that, contrary to the commoner version of the story, it ended with the rescue by Heracles of both the friends, not of Theseus only: κατ' Εὐριπίδην σώζονται καὶ οἱ δύο; cf. Hyginus, l. c. *quo Hercules ad canem triplicem ducendum cum venisset, illi fidem eius implorarunt. qui a Plutone impetravit eosque incolumes eduxit.*

In connexion with the question of the authorship, the phrase *μανίας τροχῶ* in Fr. 1. 14 may be of significance. If, as proposed above, that fragment relates to Ixion, *τροχῶ* must inevitably be understood as his wheel of torment. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that *μανίας τροχῶ* is not a metaphorical expression like *τροχηλάτου μανίας* in Eurip. *I. T.* 82-3; cf. *Or.* 36-7 *τροχηλατέι μανίαισιν*, *El.* 1253 *τροχηλατήσοισ' ἐμμανῆ*. The poet, although the scene of the *Pirithous* was set in Hades, would accordingly seem to have adopted a rationalistic interpretation of the mythical wheel. The same tendency is perhaps traceable in the use of the indefinite *θεός* or *θεοί* throughout Fr. 1. It is also seen in Nauck, Fr. 593 *σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυῶ κτλ.*, and is strongly marked in the long quotation in Sextus Empiricus from the *Sisyphus* of Critias (Nauck, Fr. 1; Plutarch and Galen, it should be observed, attribute some of these verses to Euripides), where the gods are described as a utilitarian invention. Here, then, may be the reason, or one of the reasons, why the *Pirithous* was by some ascribed to Critias—if he did not in fact write it. Resolution is apparently rather less frequent in the extant fragments than in 2078 (cf. Zielinski, *Tragodumenon libri tres*, p. 228), but no weight can be attached to this in the case of data so imperfect.

## Fr. 1.

εσφηλα[  
 υφ . . [  
 κατελ . [  
 ελθων . [  
 5 ελλην[  
 βωμω . . [  
 θεοσδεμανια[  
 επεμψενατη[  
 νεφεληνγυναικ[  
 10 εσπειρευιστουσθ . [  
 θυγατριμισγοιτοε[  
 τειωνδεκομπα[  
 ποινασθεισετεισειν[  
 μανιαστροχωπερι[  
 15 οιστη[.]ατοισινωλ[  
 απυστο[.]ανθρωποι[  
 εκρυψεναλλαβορεξ[  
 διεσπα[.]αχθησ[.]νμ[  
 πατη[.]μαρτωνισθε[  
 20 εγω[. . .]εινουπ[.]ματα[

## Fr. 1.

εσφηλα[  
 υφ . . [  
 κατελ . [  
 ελθων . [  
 5 Ἑλλην[  
 βωμῶ . . [  
 θεὸς δὲ μανία[  
 ἔπεμψεν ἄτη[ν· καὶ γὰρ ἐσχηκῶς ποτε  
 Νεφέλην γυναῖκα  
 10 ἔσπειρεν εἰς τοὺς Θε[σσαλοὺς ὡς δὴ Κρόνου  
 θυγατρὶ μίσγοιτ' εἶ[  
 τοίων δὲ κόμπα[ν  
 ποιὰς θεοῖς ἔτισεν [  
 μανίας τροχῶ περι[  
 15 οἰστη[λ]άτοισιν ὠλ[  
 ἄπυστο[.] ἀνθρώποι[σι  
 ἔκρυψεν, ἀλλὰ Βορε[αδ  
 διεσπα[ρ]άχθη σ[.]νμ[  
 πατῆ[ρ ἀ]μαρτῶν εἰς θε[οὺς  
 20 ἐγὼ [δ' ἐκ]είνου π[ή]ματ' [

Frs. 2, 3.

[ 25 letters ] . σησ  
 [ 26 " ] πη  
 [ 25 " ] νπονου  
 [ . . . . . ] . σοιτο . [ . . . . ] ηδυν[.]νδοκει  
 25 [ . . . . . ] τωσηρακλεισ[.]μεμψομαι  
 [ . . . . . ] ηπιστονγαβρανδρακαιφιλον  
 [ . . . . . ] ρδουναιδυσ[.]νωσειλημμενον  
 [ . . . . . ] θησευτηαθηβαιωνπο[  
 πρεποντελεξαστοιιδυστυχουσιγαρ  
 εισυ  
 30 αειποτεσυμαχοσσηψιν[.] . . ] οι  
 αεικεσεστεχονταπροσπατρανμολειν  
 ευρυσθεαγαρπωσδοκεισανασμενον  
 εμειπυθοιτοταυτασυνπραξαντασοι  
 λεξεινανωσακραντοσηθληταιπονος  
 35 αλλουσυχηρεισπ[.] . . . . . ] εμνηχεισ  
 ευνοιανουκενπλ[.] . . . . . ] ευθερωσ  
 εκθροισιτεεκθρα[.] . . . . . ] νευμενη  
 προσθενσεμοιτ[.] . . . . . ] ειλογος  
 λεγοισδαν[.] . . . . . ] ουσλογουσ  
 40 ωφ[ 23 letters ]  
 [ 25 " ] . ασ  
 [ " " ] . ηρετω[.]  
 [ 21 " ] . θ . [ . ] . ω[.]φρενας  
 [ 20 " ] νωμησατερ  
 45 [ " " ] τωσοιφιλον  
 [ . . . . . ] . ικω . ατααιγιαθεουσ  
 [ . . . . . ] ηπασ[.]νερριπταικυβοσ  
 [ . . . . . ] . . ονταμηματαιονη  
 [ . . . . . ] ηνεχω[.]εξα[.]δεχρη

Frs. 2, 3.

[ 25 letters ] . σησ  
 [ 26 " ] πη  
 [ 25 " ] ν πόνου  
 [ . . . . . ] . σοι το . [ . . . . ] ήδν ν[υ]ν δοκει.  
 25 (Θη.) [ . . . . . ] τος, 'Ηρακλεις, [σὲ] μέμψομαι  
 [ . . . . . ] η, πιστὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα καὶ φίλον  
 [αἰσχρὸν προδοῦναι δυσμενῶς εἰλημμένον.  
 ('Ηρ.) 'σαυτῷ τε,] Θησεῦ, τῇ τ' Ἀθηναίων πῶλει  
 πρέποντ' ἔλεξας· τοῖσι δυστυχοῦσι γὰρ  
 30 αἰεὶ ποτ' εἰ σὺ σύμμαχος· σκῆψιν [δέ τ]οι  
 αἰεκέες ἔστ' ἔχοντα πρὸς πάτραν μολεῖν.  
 Εὐρυσθέα γὰρ πῶς δοκεῖς ἂν ἄσμενον,  
 ἔμ' εἰ πύθοιτο ταῦτα συμπράξαντά σοι,  
 λέξειν ἂν ὡς ἄκραντος ἤθληται πόνος;  
 35 (Θη.) ἀλλ' οὐ σὺ χρήσεις π[ανταχῇ γ'] ἐμὴν ἔχεις  
 εὐνοίαν οὐκ ἐμπληκτον ἀλλ' ἐλ[ευθέρως  
 ἐχθροῖσι τ' ἐχθρὰν καὶ φίλοισιν εὐμενῆ.  
 πρόσθεν σ' ἐμοὶ τ[οιοῦτον] ἔνθ' αἰρ[εῖ] λόγος,  
 λέγοις δ' ἂν [ἤδη καὶ σὺ τοὺς αὐτ]οὺς λόγους.  
 40 ('Ηρ.) ὦ φίλτατ' ? 18 letters ]  
 [ 25 " ] . ασ  
 [ " " ] ὑπηρετῶ  
 [ 21 " ] . θη[η]τῶ[ν] φρένας  
 [ 20 " ] γ]νώμης ἄτερ  
 45 [ 17 " ] τοῦ]τό σοι φίλον  
 [ . . . . . ] δικῶτατ' αἰτιᾶ θεοῦς  
 [ . . . . . ] η πᾶς [ἀ]νέρριπται κύβος  
 [ . . . . . ] . . οντα μὴ μάταιον ἢ  
 [ . . . . . ] ην ἔχω· [λ]έξα[ι] δὲ χρῆ



7-8. Murray suggests *μανία*s *ἄξίαν* 'Ἰξίον, *μανία*s then meaning his passion for Hera. But madness in the ordinary sense may be intended, both here and in l. 14. According to Schol. Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* iii. 62 Ixion was stricken with *λύσσα* before the adventure with Hera on account of the murder of Eioneus, and was eventually absolved (*ἀγνοσθεῖς*) by Zeus. Has *βωμῆ* (?) in l. 6 anything to do with this story?

9. E. g. [*βάξιν ὑβρεως πλέαν* or [*τλημονέστατον λόγον*: cf. Soph. *El.* 642 *σπείρη ματαίαν βάξιν ἐς πᾶσαν πόλιν*, Eurip. Fr. 846 (Nauck) *πλείστος ἔσπαρται λόγος*.

10. *Θεσσαλούς* would suit either Ixion or Athamas, the latter's adventures being partly in Thessaly; cf. e. g. Hygin. 4 *Athamas in Thessalia rex*, Palaeph. 31 *ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Θεσίας*.

14-15. The second letter of *ωλ* may be *χ* (*ῥχετ'*? cf. n. on l. 16). *οιστρη*[*λ*]*άταισιν* seems more likely than *οιστρη*[*μ*]*α τοῖσιν*. With the latter Murray suggests *ἄλ*[*ετο ξύμπαν γένος*, and something like [*ἐμπύρῳ δ' ἄνω* and *περὶ*[*δρομον εἰλίσσει γάμων* at the end of the two previous lines. *Περὶ*[*θους δέ* is inadmissible if *δισπα*[*ρ*]*ίχθη* is right in l. 18; cf. the note there.

16. Perhaps *ἄπυστο*[*ν*] *ἀνθρώποι*[*σι δ'*, but *ἄπυστο*[*ς*] *ἀνθρώποι*[*σι* might be read with *ῥχ*[*ετ'* in l. 15; cf. Homer, *a* 242 *ῥχετ' ἄϊντος ἄπυστος*.

17. *Βορε*[*αδ* . . . is hardly to be avoided, *βορβ*[*ορ* . . . being less satisfactory, even if that word were otherwise likely. *Βορέας* might mean simply 'northern', as in Aesch. Fr. 195. 2 (Nauck) *Βορέαδας πνοάς*.

18. *δισπα*[*ρ*]*ίχθη*: though the four letters after *δι* are broken, the reading adopted seems probable. Of the *ε* only the base remains, but this does not suit *ο*, so that *Διὸς πα*[*ρ*]*ίχθη*, which is proposed by Murray, is unacceptable. But *δισπα*[*ρ*]*ίχθη* will not apply to Pirithous. The other son of Ixion was Centaurus, the offspring of *Νεφέλη*, and Murray suggests that possibly the legend here followed represented this cloud-monster as having been blown in pieces; of this, however, nothing is otherwise known. The line may be completed e. g. *σ*[*υ*]*μ*[*ερεσχηκώς*, or *σ*[*υ*]*μ*[*έτρως τίσας, ὄσα*, with *ἐφείλκετο* (Murray) or *ἔτλη ποτε* at the end of the next verse.

26-39. (*Theseus*.) ' . . . , for it is disgraceful to desert a faithful friend when seized by hostile hands.

(*Heracles*.) Theseus, thy words are becoming both to thyself and to the Athenians' city; for thou art ever the ally of those in trouble. But it is unseemly that I should return to my country liable to a pretext; for how gladly, thinkest thou, would Eurystheus say, if he learnt that I had joined thee in this, that my labour had been performed to no effect?

(*Theseus*.) But thou hast at any rate my goodwill wheresoever thou needest it, not capriciously given, but without reserve hostile to foes and kindly to friends. Report goes that in former time thou wert such to me, and now thou mayst tell the selfsame tale.'

26. The doubtful *η* may be *ν*.

27. *οὐ χρή* before *πρ*[*οδοῦναι* is hardly long enough; perhaps *πῶς χρή*.

30-1. Sense and metre are duly restored by the corrector's insertion. *σκήψω ἔχοντα*, as the context shows, must mean with an excuse for Eurystheus.

32-4. According to Apollod. ii. 5. 11 the *ἄθλα* of the stables of Augeas and the Lernean hydra were rejected by Eurystheus. For *ἄκραντος* . . . *πόνος* cf. Eurip. *Syrphl.* 317 *φαῦλον ἀθλήσας πόνον*.

36. *ἔμπληκτος* is used of persons in Soph. *Aj.* 1358 and Eurip. *Troad.* 1205, but is applied to *φιλοσοφία* by Plato, *Gorg.* 482 a.

38-39. Restored by Murray. According to some authorities Theseus accompanied Heracles against the Amazons, and this is the story followed by Euripides, *Heracled.* 215 sqq., where that expedition is cited along with the rescue from Hades as evidence of the friendship between the two heroes. Philochorus ap. Plutarch, *Thes.* 26 says that Theseus was rewarded by Heracles with the hand of Antiope.

42. *ὑπηρετῶ*: or *-τῶ*[*ν*].

46. If *]δικώτατ'* (either *άδ.* or *ένδ.*), which looks obvious, is right, the first *τ* seems to have had a longer vertical stroke than usual.

53 sqq. Fr. 3 is most probably to be placed below Fr. 2, but at what interval, if any, is uncertain. Possibly ll. 52 and 53 were not consecutive but formed a single line, or there may be a gap between them.

72. The third letter may be *ν*.

2079. CALLIMACHUS, *Actia*, PROLOGUE.

Fr. 1 24.9 × 11.8 cm.

Second century.  
Plate I (Fr. 1).

The notable additions already made by Oxyrhynchus to the fragments of Callimachus (cf. 1362. int. and 1793) are further augmented by the two following texts, which if in literary quality not competing with the story of Acontius and Cydippe (1011. 1 sqq.) are in other respects not less significant. 2079 consists of two fragments, one giving a full column of forty elegiac verses, for the most part in good preservation except for the loss of the first few syllables of the lines throughout, the other containing the beginnings of about a dozen more verses which may well have belonged to the succeeding column, though the position of the fragment is not definitely ascertained (cf. n. on l. 41). The medium-sized upright script is of the irregular type seen also in 1793, the *Sosibii Victoria*, though without the artificialities of that example; a somewhat closer parallel is the Herondas papyrus. *ξ* is formed by three distinct strokes, the central one curved like a circumflex accent. *ω* is sometimes of the common shape, sometimes has the base more or less flattened. The date suggested is the first half of the second century, which also suits a cursive adscript in the margin at l. 30; another gloss, less cursively written, has been inserted above l. 1. Stops in the high position, and some breathings, accents, and signs of elision occur. How far these can be attributed to the original scribe is, as often, not easily decided; the ink in



many cases is indistinguishable from that of the text, but sometimes is of a lighter colour like the adscripts already mentioned. In any case, however, they are not likely to be of appreciably later date.

The authorship of the fragment is immediately established by the occurrence in it of several extant citations made from the poet by name, though without specification of the particular work from which they were taken. As to that, however, there is no longer room for doubt. Callimachus in the passage before us is replying to his critics and making a set defence of his poetic aims and method. It has been generally thought that some such *apologia* was prefixed both to the *Aetia* and the *Hecale*; and since the preface of the *Hecale* cannot be supposed to have differed in metre from the rest of the poem, the obvious conclusion is that the contents of the papyrus are none other than part of the much discussed Prologue of the *Aetia*. Incidentally this hypothesis will help to explain how they happen to include so many lines which are already extant—the proportion of such in Fr. I is about one line in three: grammarians tend to cite what is familiar, and the exordium of the most celebrated poem of Callimachus would naturally be widely known, and would, moreover, gain in interest from its large personal element and polemical tone.

The taunt which the poet here sought to meet was that his output was limited to comparatively short pieces. That the Prologue of the *Aetia* dealt with that criticism was maintained long ago by A. Hecker, *Comm. Callim.*, pp. 51 sqq., who further held that the four books which followed constituted the proof of its injustice. Hecker's view was, however, decisively rejected by O. Schneider, *Callimachea*, ii, p. 114, arguing that because the *Aetia* could not properly be described as a long and continuous poem, the answer to the detractors who denied the ability of Callimachus to write one was not to be looked for in the Prologue; the place for that answer was rather the Prologue of the *Hecale* (p. 176). This reasoning is anything but cogent. The books of the *Aetia* were probably considerably smaller than those of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius (cf. Part VII, p. 19), but could fairly claim to amount to a lengthy work, which though no doubt very discursive was not therefore devoid of continuity. But even if the epithet *διηλεκτός* (l. 3, below) were inappropriate, and Callimachus did not intend to point to the *Aetia* in refutation of his critics, the conclusion would by no means follow that he did not reply in the Prologue to their strictures on his brevity. That in fact he did so is now clear. In a remarkable passage we are told that in studying brevity and avoiding the beaten track he had from the first obeyed the command of Apollo, which seems to be a picturesque way of describing the response of his creative impulse to the literary conditions of the time.

It was not till after this text with the commentary was in type that

I recognized in No. 181 of the British Museum *Catalogue of Literary Papyri*, the proof-sheets of which I had an opportunity of examining, a series of notes evidently relating to the passage recovered in the main fragment of the present papyrus. With the kind permission of the Museum authorities I print on p. 55 so much of the notes as appears to bear upon the text of 2079, to the restoration of which in spite of many obscurities they make valuable contributions; they are cited in the commentary as Schol.

In the reconstruction of this and the following text, my obligation to Mr. Lobel is especially great. I am indebted also to Professor A. E. Housman for several illuminating suggestions.



[. . . .]ωσῖναγηρασιγαδρροσονῆνμεναειδω  
 [. . . . .]γκεδεισηηροσῖδαρεδων  
 35 [. . . .] . . . [.]ακ . μ[.] . εμοιβαροσσοσνονεπεστι  
 [. . . .]λφ[.] .]μολ[.] .]νησοσεπενκελα[.]  
 [. . . . .]αροσουσῖδονοθμα[.] . παιδασ  
 [. . . . .]ουκαπεθεντοφιλουσ  
 [. . . . .]σε[.] .]πτερονοκετικεινειν  
 40 [. . . . .]ιτ[.] .]λοσενεργοτατος

## Fr. 2.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

42 ει[  
 . . . . .  
 41 ] . . . . . τωι . [.]ρ[.]δε[  
 . . . . . πῖρεαδεκρ[  
 45 απταιστου[  
 ουμενθην[  
 αλλεσαδελ[  
 α[  
 ενθε . [  
 50 τιφυσα[  
 καλλιστ[  
 εδδεια[  
 οἴτετιτ[  
 αλλατι[

1-32. 'But now backbiters who are ignorant of the Muse and unfriendly raise an unseemly murmur against me, because I have not wrought one continuous poem in many thousands of lines either in celebration of kings or heroes of old, but make but a slight roll of poetry, like a child; yet are the decades of my years not a few. To the backbiters I return this reply: Ignorant tribe, who only know how to let your heart waste away, well I know that my verses are few, but bountiful Demeter far outweighs the tall oak. Of his two works it was . . . that taught us the sweetness of Mimmermus, not the portly woman. . . . Avaunt, baleful offspring of envy, and straightway judge poetry by art, not with the Persian schoenus, and seek not from me the birth of a resounding song: thunder belongs not to me but to Zeus. For when I first set a tablet on my knees, Lycian Apollo said to me, "Good bard, you should offer to me the fattest possible sacrifice, but a slender

[ἀ, πάντ]ως ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν αἰείδω  
 [πρώκιο]ν ἐκ δίης ἡέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων  
 35 [. . . .] . . . [.]ακ . μ[.] . εμοὶ βάρος ὄσσον ἔπεστι  
 [τριγ]λῶ[χι]ν ὀλ[οφ] νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελά[δφ.]  
 [. . . . .] Μοῦσαι γ]ὰρ ὄσους ἴδον ὄθμα[τ]ι παῖδας  
 [μῆ] λοξῶ πολίους] οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.  
 [. . . . .]σε[.] .] πτερόν οὐκέτι κινεῖν  
 40 [. . . . .]ι τ[.] .]λος ἐνεργότατος.

## Fr. 2.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

42 ει[  
 . . . . .  
 41 ] . . . . . τωι.[.]ρ[.]δε[  
 . . . . . τεῖρεα δὲ κρ[  
 45 ἀπταιστου[  
 οὐ μὲν θην [  
 ἀλλ' ἐς ἀδελ[φ  
 α[  
 ενθε . [  
 50 Τίφυσ α[  
 καλλιστ[  
 ἔδδεια[  
 οἴ τε τιτ[  
 ἀλλα τι[

poem. Moreover I lay this behest on you: take the path that wagoners do not tread and drive not your chariot along the common tracks of others, nor up the broad road; but you shall drive on a newer, if narrower, way." For I sing among those who seek the grasshopper's sweet sound, and love not the noise of asses. Let others bray just like the long-eared beast, but let me be the dainty, winged creature. Oh, would that old age [might be dissipated?] like the dew which as I sing is my morning food from the divine air, that burden that weighs on me as heavily as the three-cornered isle on baleful Enceladus. . . ., for the Muses do not reject when they are grey-headed the friends whom when children they regarded not askance.'

1. αἰεκέες or -ῶς or some similar adverb seems preferable to another epithet of τελχίνες,

e. g. ἀνιγγοί (cf. 1011. 14); but α[ might also be a substantive depending on νήιδες, e. g. ἀ[οιδῆς, Μούσης then being constructed with φίλοι.

ἐπιτρύζουσιν: this passage may well be the source of the Hesychian gloss ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἐπιγογγύζουσιν, ἐπιλέγουσιν.

2. = Callim. Fr. 488.

3-4. [εἴνεκε]ν . . . διηκεές and ἦνυσα = Callim. Fr. 287, from Apoll. Dyscol. Schneider supposed ἦνυσα to follow διηκεές directly, but Naeke proves to have been right in assigning the verb to the following verse, of which however it is not, as he thought, the first word. That . . . ]as at the beginning of l. 4 is a participle is not certain; an alternative restoration is a substantive in apposition with ἄεισμα, e. g. ἡ βασιλ[ήων | πράξι]us, as Lobel suggests, though ἡ . . . ἦρωας would not balance this particularly well.

5. ἀρχα]ους is not really satisfactory, since a speck to the left of the supposed ι on a level with the top of the line is not accounted for; perhaps θ, ο, π, or φ would best suit the slight vestiges before the ο. For ἀ[ισσα cf. Callim. Fr. 242 γράμματα δ' οὐκ εἴλισσεν, Nonn. *Paraphr.* vii. *ad fin.* βιβλον εἴλισσων.

6 = Callim. Fr. 489, from Hephaest., p. 96. Schneider perversely refused to accept Gaisford's emendation, which is now established, of παῖσατε το παῖς ἄτε.

7-10. A vestige at the beginning of l. 7 is consistent with ε, and if this letter was made rather large, there need be nothing between it and the following κ. [φημι δ]ε will then not be objectionably short for the lacuna. ἀ[δρι and the restorations of the beginnings of the three following lines are due to Housman. For l. 8 cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 285. 5-6 (Nicarchus) ἔρρεε . . . κακῶν λιμηρῶ γυναικῶν ἔργα νέον τήκειν ἄνθος ἐπιστάμενα, which much looks like a reminiscence of the present passage, xi. 193. 2 τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίην, Ovid, *Met.* ii. 807-8 *lentaeque miserima tabe liquitur*. Schol. 7-8, no doubt referring to this verse, remain obscure. In l. 9, of the letters following the initial lacuna ρ is probable, ε certain, and the letter next but one to ε is likely to be κ or ν. With ν, the intervening letter may best be read as η, μ, or ω, the last for choice; two specks of ink before ρ are quite inconclusive, but consistent with the restoration adopted, or e. g. with ] γάρ. καθέλ[κει, and in l. 10 πολύ or one of the alternative forms πολυά, πολλόν, are assured by Schol. 9-10, but the annotator's remark that the adverb can be taken with either verb or adjective does not command assent. The vestiges before την are extremely slight, and though not inconsistent with, cannot be said to confirm, πολυά. The sentence may be paraphrased 'Corn is much better than acorns, though they grow on a tall tree'.

11-12. The letter after β may be ι, ρ, or ν, but δυόν would be almost inevitable even if it were not clear from Schol. 11-14 that a distinction was drawn between two portions of Mimnermus' writings, the minor poems and the μεγάλη γυνή, i. e. the *Nanno*, the most celebrated of his works and the only one cited by name. [τοῦν δέ] was supplied by Housman, who refers to Porphyrius on Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2. 101 for the statement that Mimnermus wrote two books: Suidas says that they were many (ἔγραψε βιβλία ταῦτα πολλά). Housman further suggests that the distich may be completed ἀ[μμε τὸ μείον βιβλίον], but a convincing supplement can hardly be made without the removal of the obscurity at the end of Schol. 11, where apparently the name of the minor poems of Mimnermus was given; perhaps α[ι, as there. Mimnermus was not improbably referred to by Callimachus in 1011. 341 (so Crusius), where various kinds of poetry are under discussion.

13-16. With Πυγμαίων practically assured, [γ]ερά[ν] at the end of the line becomes highly probable, though, as observed by Lobel, a reference to Γεράνα, the queen of the Pygmies, as typifying the combination of beauty (cf. Aelian, *N. An.* xv. 29) with smallness of size, may also be supposed. For ἐπὶ Θρ. ἀπ' Ἀλγ. cf. e. g. Hdt. ii. 22. With regard to the letters preceding [γ]ερά[ν], ο may be read in place of ε after δ, and the vestiges after the accented α (more probable than ο) suggest a rather broad round letter like θ or σ; this is followed by

two dots on the edge of the papyrus which might be the tips of the uprights of an η. μάχη is not satisfactory, nor is ηδεματη as a mistake for ηλεμάτη, suggested by Housman who compares Theocr. xv. 4. He also proposed to restore ll. 15-16 [σήμασιν] οἷς ἀ[ ]άγμα [μαθεῖν Εὐβ]οιον ἐπ' ἄνδρα [ἄρσαν] ἀη[δονίδες δ' εἰσιν ἀοιδό]τεροι, Εὐβ]οιον ἄνδρα meaning Palamedes (cf. Hesych. Εὐβοεύς· ὁ Παλαμῆδης, Philostr. *Heroic.* x. 2-3, &c.) and the idea of the passage being that while the crane is a formidable fighter and famous in the history of civilization, the nightingale sings more sweetly. But though ἀη[δονίδες and perhaps οἷς might be read, [ ]άγμα is not suitable, nor could γράμμα or σῆμα be substituted. In l. 15 ισ, if right, was preceded by a letter apparently having a high cross-bar, e. g. γ, τ, but a broad-topped ο is hardly to be excluded. Either ]οιον or ]οιεν is possible. ἄνδρα not improbably ended the line, but the space after the second α is insufficient to make this certain. What has been taken for a high stop immediately after the initial lacuna of l. 16 may alternatively be the remains of an accent or of an inserted letter.

17-18. That the lacuna in l. 17 is to be filled by Callim. Fr. 292, which is of just the right length, is established by Schol. 15. In l. 18 Callim. Fr. 481 μῆ (μετρεῖν) σχοίνω . . . σοφίην falls in admirably with the context. μετρεῖν there is an editorial addition, and Housman's κρίνετε, which both leaves μῆ σχοίνω in contact, as in Plutarch, *De exil.* 10, p. 602, and carries on the construction of ll. 17 and 19, is to be preferred. Frs. 481 and 165 (= l. 19) had already been associated by Hecker, *Com. Call.* 52, who however thought that they belonged to the *Heccale*: Schneider here makes a happier conjecture.

19-20 = Callim. Frs. 165 + 490, rightly combined by Dilthey, *Anal. Call.* 5. δ of διος must have been somewhat cramped, but the other letters, though broken, are satisfactory, and the restoration is made certain by Schol. 18 sqq. δ' would not be missed.

21-2. [καὶ . . . ]γούνασιν = Schneider, Fr. Anon. 261, rightly attributed to Callimachus by Hecker, to the *Aetia* by Schneidewin and to the prologue of the *Aetia* by Bergk, *Anthol. lyr.* praef. xi. δ μοι Λύκιος provides an exact parallel for Callim. Fr. 118 αἶ φασί τεκόντες, at which some critics have stumbled.

23. The faint and scanty vestiges before αοιδε may be variously interpreted, and the reading adopted makes no claim to probability: α]εν might also serve, if the ν was written rather small.

25-6. ἐτέρων . . . καθ' ὁμά = Callim. Fr. 293, from Eustath. (two places) and Olympiodorus, the latter adding δ' after ἐτέρων. Olympiodorus (*In Plat. Phaed.* 66 v) has ὥσπερ τὸ τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι, τὰ στείβειν, καὶ ἐτέρων δ' κτλ., whence Hecker combined τὰ μὴ . . . στείβειν with ἐτέρων κτλ. into one couplet, a course approved by Bergk, Cobet, and Dilthey, but decisively rejected by Schneider, who blunders further by disputing the ordinary interpretation of the phrase ἐτέρων . . . καθ' ὁμά and translating it *vestigia (mea) ne sint similia vestigiis aliorum*. Bentley was no doubt right in connecting κατὰ with ἴχνια, and, as the passage now stands, ὁμά is best regarded as an adjective and ἴχνια καθ' ὁμά as parallel to οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν in l. 27. Whether δ' should be inserted or not after ἐτέρων is more questionable.

27. The rough breathing on οἶμον is clear: cf. l. 29 and Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 227 λυγρὴν θ' οἶμον, Suidas and Photius (1 p. 304 Naber) καθ' οἶμον καθ' ὁδόν. Bentley in connexion with Callim. Fr. 293, objecting to this aspirated form, proposed in the two latter instances to read κάθουμον.

28. A vestige before σ suggests a straight stroke, e. g. ι, rather than α, but this appearance may be due to the scaling of the ink, and α is not excluded. The change from plural to singular is in any case remarkable. I have hesitated between στε[ρ]ροτερην and στε[ρ]ροτερην.

29. For the abnormal aspirate on ηχον cf. l. 27, n.

30. θέλουσιν [ in the margin may have been followed by an infinitive (of which the

doubtful  $\nu$  was possibly the first letter). The gloss presumably implies that the verb lost in the initial lacuna was an uncommon word or one used in an uncommon sense, and the space demands that it should be short;  $\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  fulfils these conditions moderately well.

31.  $\theta\eta\rho$   $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  was known to be a Callimachean expression from Eustath. *Il.* 870. 7, 1299. 37 (= Callim. Fr. 320); cf. *Anth. Pal.* xi. 130  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon$   $\xi\chi\omega$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\Pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon$   $\eta$   $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\upsilon$ .  $\theta\eta\rho\iota$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota$   $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , which turns out to be an unexpectedly close adaptation of Callimachus' phraseology.

32.  $\omicron\upsilon\lambda$  [a]  $\chi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ : faint traces on the edge of a hole in the papyrus suit  $\lambda$ . Above the  $\omicron$  there is another hole in which a rough breathing may have disappeared.

33-6. This is a puzzling passage, of which the construction remains doubtful, in spite of the slight loss and a striking parallel, to which Professor Housman has called attention, in Eurip. *Heracles* 637-40  $\acute{\alpha}$   $\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\mu\omicron\iota$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ .  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma$   $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$   $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\alpha\varsigma$   $\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ . That Callimachus was alluding to these verses seems evident, and it will follow that  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  in l. 35 refers to  $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  in l. 33. The first half of l. 33  $\acute{\alpha}$  . . .  $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  = Callim. Fr. 323, which is quoted in illustration of  $\acute{\alpha}$  as equivalent to  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon$  by Hesychius and *Elym. Paris.* 2669 (Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* iv, p. 84) in the corrupt form  $\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  and by Suid., Schol. Platon., p. 393 Bekk., and *Elym. Flor.*, p. 60, as printed in the text. Schneider followed Naeke in attributing the words to Hecale and proposed to complete the verse  $\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ , a conjecture which, as might be expected, turns out to be very remote from the truth. Instead of this, the papyrus continues  $\nu\alpha$   $\delta\rho\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu$ , the repetition of  $\nu\alpha$  constituting the chief crux of the passage. No doubt can be entertained of the reading, for though the  $\nu$  is partially obliterated the  $\iota$  is intact, and the absence of diacresis is accounted for by a hole in the papyrus.  $\nu\alpha$  therefore was certainly not written, nor is  $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\eta\upsilon\alpha$  an attractive emendation, still less so  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$   $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , since the first  $\eta\upsilon\alpha$  is protected by the citations of Suidas, &c.; cf. Schol. 31. Unfortunately the note in Schol. (ll. 30 sqq.) is too illegible to be of much assistance, though it may be inferred from  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  that the verb which must have occurred at the beginning of l. 35 was a past indicative expressing a hopeless wish. The version attempted above follows the view of Housman, who taking  $\eta\upsilon$  as the object of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$  with [ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\iota\omega$ ]  $\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\rho$  in apposition regards the use of  $\eta\upsilon\alpha$  . . .  $\eta\upsilon\alpha$  as analogous to that of  $g\upsilon\alpha$  . . .  $g\upsilon\alpha$  for  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  . . .  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  (with the emphasis on the first member of the comparison), and from Schol. 35, where  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$  (a) is a possible reading, suggests that the wish was to the effect that the sun's rays might disperse old age as easily as the dew. The poet was perhaps remembering that the  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\iota\epsilon$  was once Tithonus. A satisfactory restoration of l. 35, however, has not yet been found.

34 = Callim. Fr. 542, from Schol. Theocr. iv. 16 ( $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$   $\sigma\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\delta$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\iota\epsilon$ )  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\nu$   $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  . . .  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  (so KUEAT,  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha\nu$  G)  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (so K:  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$  UEAT,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$  G)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\rho$   $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\nu$ . Schneider follows Ahrens and Bergk in reading  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , but this must now give way to the papyrus lection, which clearly underlies the corruptions of the MSS.; cf. Homer, *Il.* 365  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ . Whether  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  or, as Schneider suggested,  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$ , stood in the lacuna cannot be determined.

35. The mutilation of the earlier portion of this line is very unfortunate. About  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ , though damaged, there is little doubt, but the preceding vestiges are difficult to identify. The initial lacuna is followed by remains of the base of one or two letters, of which the second (if there were two) may have been  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\omega$ , or perhaps  $\xi$ ; or possibly a single  $\mu$  would account for the traces. Next, after a lacuna of two letters, there seems to be an  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ , succeeded by  $\kappa$  or  $\iota$  or  $\iota\delta$ , and then, after an interval of one letter, which has mostly disappeared in a hole, a fairly probable  $\mu$ . Another hole follows, beyond which there is a very slight vestige of the base of the letter before  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ ; if the  $\mu$  is right there is hardly

room for  $[\epsilon]\pi$   $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ , but  $\mu[\epsilon]$ , e. g., would be suitable. At the beginning of the verse a verb is apparently required to carry on the construction of l. 33; cf. the n. there.

36 = Callim. Fr. 382, a line attributed by Schneider with some confidence to the fourth elegy of the second book of the *Aetia* (pp. 87, 573).

37-8. It is surprising to find here two lines coinciding with ll. 5-6 of Callim. *Epigr.* 21 (23 Schneider), which is preserved in *Anth. Pal.* vii. 525. In the *Anthology* the two verses are given as  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\text{M}\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\kappa\tau\lambda.$   $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\beta\iota\omicron\nu$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ , the preceding line being . . .  $\delta$   $\delta'$  (sc.  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\mu.$ )  $\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\alpha$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ , which provides a further link with the present passage (cf. ll. 1 sqq. above).  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\beta\iota\omicron\nu$ , seemingly corrupt, was emended by Reiske and Keil to  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\beta\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , which is adopted by Schneider. What was very naturally taken to be the identical distich is cited in Schol. Hesiod, *Theog.* 82 in the form  $\text{M}\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\delta\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\eta\delta\omega\nu$   $\delta\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  (or  $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$ )  $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\lambda\omicron\zeta\acute{\phi}$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ , and  $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\lambda\omicron\zeta\acute{\phi}$  has been accepted by Bentley and others, and more recently by Wilamowitz. That reading may be correct, but there is now the likelihood to be reckoned with that the Scholiast on Hesiod was not quoting from the epigram but from this place in the *Aetia*. Here at any rate  $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\lambda\omicron\zeta\acute{\phi}$ , which nicely fits the lacuna, can be adopted with confidence. Whether  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  should be restored before  $\text{M}\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$  is more problematical, not only because it is somewhat long for the space, but also because of its doubtful suitability to the present context.

The spelling  $\delta\theta\mu\alpha$ , said by Hesychius to be Aeolic, is used e. g. by Nicander, *Th.* 178, 443, but is new for Callimachus.

39-40. ] $\sigma\epsilon$ [ may be ] $\sigma\theta$ [ and in l. 40  $\alpha$  or  $\mu$  can be read instead of the doubtful  $\lambda$ ;  $\tau[\eta]\mu\omicron\varsigma$  is not impossible. A reference may here be supposed to the saying  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\iota\gamma\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$  (Lucian, *Pseudol.* 1  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\iota\gamma\iota$  . . .  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu$  . . .  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$   $\lambda\eta\theta\eta\theta\eta$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$   $\beta\omicron\delta\omega\nu\tau\iota$ ), but a comparison with the dying swan, suggested by Housman, seems better to carry on the idea of the preceding lines. Something like  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\upsilon\omicron$ ]  $\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon[\pi\epsilon\iota]$  . . .  $\kappa\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  [ $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$ ,  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$   $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ ]  $\tau[\eta]\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ . might have expressed this.

41. Some slight vestiges at the edge of the papyrus would be consistent e. g. with a letter of the text followed by a high stop, or may be regarded as the remains of an adscript. If ll. 42 sqq. belong to the column immediately following Fr. 1, the colour of the papyrus suggests that they came from the upper part of it; but no very suitable point of junction between the two fragments is apparent, nor is there any evident internal connexion.

46.  $\theta\eta\nu$ , which is frequent in Theocritus, occurs here for the first time in Callimachus.

P. Brit. Mus. Lit. 181, ll. 7-41. First century. The lines of 2079 to which the Scholia refer are given in brackets on the right of the column. A few notes on readings are appended.

$\omicron$  . . . (εστι) το ηπαρ (8)

αιαις //

ητοι πολυ καθελ (9-10)

10 κει η τ(ην) πολυ μακ(ρην)

εδιδαξαν αι α . τα (11-12)

ουκ εδιδ(αξεν) η μεγαλ(η)

- λεγει οτι γλυκ(υς) ο Μιμ(νερμος)  
 ωδε οντως ηδυ(ς?) εν το(ις) μικ(ροις) (17)
- 15 ελλατε βασκ(ανιης) καν  
 μηδεν γ(αρ) δυνη(θωσι)  
 ποσως βλαπτουσι  
 ουκ εχω τα μακρα (19-20)  
 ωσπερ ουδ(ε) τα(ς) βροντ(ας)
- 20 οι δ(ε) μεγα ψοφεο(υσαν)  
 κραυγαγο(νται) κ(αι) εκλ. . .  
 ως κ(αι) ονο(ς) σ(υμ)βαλλ(ομενος) τεττιγ(ι) (29-32)  
 Λυκιο(ς) επει ξενο(ις) ηδ(ε)ται (22)  
 (εστι) δ αλλ(ως) κ(αι) μαντ(ειον) εν Λυκ(ια)
- 25 ο δ Αριστο( ) επει Δητ(ω)  
 τικτο(υσα) εις λυκο(ν) [εαυ(την)?]  
 μετεβαλε  
 οιμον πατο(ν) ομοι(ως) (27)  
 τ(ην) πλατειαν
- 30 α παντως κ(αι) τα εξ(ης) (33)  
 ωφελον ινα τ. . . .  
 κ(αι) τ(ην) δροσο(ν) προτ. . .  
 προς το δε. . . . ( )  
 ην μεν. . . . ( )
- 35 τα δε καν. [.] . . .  
 αναγν. ( )  
 δεσφα. . . ( ) κ(αι). . .  
 χειρος π. . . . .  
 πελιας. . . . αις
- 40 επει κερ[.]νο( ) . . λεισ  
 κοτο( ) τον Εγκελ(αδον)

7-8. Possibly οτι, but the sentence is then unintelligible; Αιας and αιαν occur in the preceding lines. // ordinarily = εισι. 11. The letter after αι seems to be α rather than μ. There may be a stroke indicating abbreviation over the last letter of the line. μελισσαι which Housman proposed, cannot be read. 14. Since ηδε (βδε) is apparently unsuitable, ηδυ(ς) is less difficult than ηδυ, and there is in the papyrus the suggestion of a stroke above the υ. 21. l. (αιτουντες) κραυγ. ? At the end of the line the letter after εκ looks most like

λ or μ. 26. It is doubtful whether anything followed λυκο(ν). 31. το γηρας or possibly το γη(ρας) ινα may be supposed to have stood at the end of the line, but the papyrus is rubbed and the remains of letters are slight. γηρας without το might also be read, but cf. τ(ην) δρ. in l. 32. 33. προς το: or e. g. προεν or -αν. 34. Perhaps αιδ(ω) followed μεν (cf. 2079. 33), but the slight traces are not recognizable. 35. κανμ[ατ(α)] (Housman) is a possibility. 40. κεραυνός or κεραυνοῦν in some form looks probable, but Bell considers the space between ρ and ν too short for αυ. 41. Εγκελ(αδον) is very uncertain.

2080. CALLIMACHUS, *Aetia*, BOOK II.

Height 21.6 cm.

Second century.  
Plate II (Cols. ii-iii).

The authorship of this valuable fragment is confirmed by the occurrence in it of several already extant lines, some of which are definitely associated with the second book of the *Aetia* (ll. 12-17, 71-3, nn.). It consists of remains of three columns, the first and third very defective, but the middle one, fortunately, in fair preservation and, thanks to the small compact writing, of very satisfactory length. Like P. Berlin 13417 (ed. Wilamowitz, 1912; Pfeiffer, *Callim. Fr.* 1, 2), this was an annotated manuscript, and though the notes are not in themselves of much merit, they are of some assistance in the reconstruction of the lower portion of the mutilated first column. In the upper half, contained on a detached fragment the position of which is fixed vertically by the fibres of the verso, the marginalia are mostly missing, and little can be made out here apart from a passage of six lines which had been preserved by Stobaeus (ll. 12-17). These are couched in the first person, the speaker being presumably the poet himself (cf. Col. ii), and formed part of the preface to what succeeds. 'And indeed the delicate golden unguents, which with the scented garlands I then placed on my head, all straightway lost their fragrance, and what passed within my teeth and down to my thankless stomach, of that too nought remained till the morrow; but what I heard with my ears, that alone remains with me, as follows.' Below this the text becomes very fragmentary, and at least three and perhaps five verses are missing altogether. When the thread can be picked up again, about twelve lines later, the scene is Sicily, various towns of which are briefly mentioned, among them Syracuse, Catania, Selinus, Naxos, and Thapsus. No doubt this is all part of the speech of which we have the conclusion in Col. ii, where Callimachus, after enumerating further Sicilian cities, says that in them the founder did not remain anonymous; the puzzling exception on which he wanted information was, as the sequel shows, Drepanum. His problem is then solved by none other than Clio,

the Muse of history. Speaking 'for the second time', she tells the story of the foundation of Drepanum by Perieres and Crataemenes, who disregarded an unfavourable omen and, after the building was finished, quarrelled on the question which of them should be regarded as the official founder, and on reference to the Delphic oracle were both deprived of that honour. Thus it was that at Drepanum a nameless founder was summoned to partake of the sacrificial feast. The curiosity of Callimachus was, however, still not satisfied, and he was anxious to put further questions to the Muse concerning the observance in Boeotia and Euboea of certain Cretan customs. Here the column ends, and there is a gap of nine lines before the exiguous remains of the next one begins; if a reference to Cnossus is rightly recognized in l. 108, Crete was the subject of consideration at least as far as that point.

This papyrus not only confirms the surmise that in the second book of the *Aetia* the foundation of cities was a prominent topic (cf. Schneider, *Callim.* ii, p. 46), but also throws a valuable light on the poet's method of treating it. That he had represented himself as having been transported in a dream to Helicon and deriving information from the Muses was known from *Anth. Pal.* vii. 42, but there was no evidence of the extent of the use made of that fiction. It has been commonly supposed that the dream was described in the prologue (so Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 114, with Hecker and others). If that plausible assumption is correct, the natural conclusion will be that the dialogue with the Muses was continued through the first book to the point at which it is now found in the second, and for all we know it may have persisted through the greater part of the entire work. That it ceased before the end of Book iv is clear from 1011. 54; cf. 1302. 5 sqq., where Callimachus reports a conversation which took place at a banquet in Egypt. The latter fragment, if a guess of Schneider is accepted, should be referred to the first book, in which case the episode of the dream will not have been introduced so early as the prologue; and the fact that at l. 58 of the papyrus Clío spoke τὸ δεύτερον might be held to point in that direction. But though in a revelation of historical origins the Muse of history would be expected to play the chief part, there is no need to assume that her sisters maintained silence (cf. Schneider, *Fr. Anon.* 114, 358), and if one of them had intervened shortly before, τὸ δεύτερον would lose its weight. In which book 1302 was included remains a matter of complete uncertainty.

The structure of Book ii as revealed by this discovery thus turns out very different from what Schneider had imagined. In his view, which has found expert adherents (e.g. Reitzenstein, *Index Lect.* i, p. 13), the central theme of this book, whereon the other components all hinged, was the return of the Argonauts. Thus he conjectures that *Fr.* 361 (l. 48 of the papyrus) belonged to

the story of Phalaris, narrated in illustration of the inhospitality of Sicily, which deterred Jason from landing there (p. 87), and connects *Fr.* 172 (l. 73 of the papyrus) with Jason's arrival at Corcyra. Others have held that the adventures of the Argonauts were treated by Callimachus in a separate poem. But whether or no that subject figured in the second book of the *Aetia*, so much is now clear, that the elaborate edifice constructed by Schneider rested on the flimsiest foundations and will no longer stand. It is to be hoped that the fragments of Callimachus may ere long be edited anew by a scholar of better balanced judgement.

The text of 2080 is neatly written in a rather small sloping hand, later in appearance than that of 2079, which came from the same find, but likely to fall well within the second century. A noticeable letter is the tall and widely-forked *v*. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision have been introduced sparingly, and there is one instance of the sublinear hyphen (l. 66); punctuation, if it occurs at all, is rare (l. 29, n.). These additions, like the interlineations at ll. 52, 69, and 86, and the compressed and often abbreviated scholia, may all be credited to the original scribe.

Col. i.

] . αλ . [ . ] . . [   
 ] . κουρειανυπο[   
 ]γο . [ . ]υδε . [   
 ]εδεσηριονη[   
 5 ]τεισκοπελο[   
 ]ειθετισενπ[   
 ]εροσηθελε[   
 ]γωδ' απο[ . ]αιτ[   
 ]ρισσοτεροι[   
 10 ] . ρεσεσουατα[   
 ]ιφυλακη . [   
 ]απιτημοσε[   
 ]ηστεφανο[   
 ]ρεοσοσατ[   
 ]δυ <sup>νειαρ</sup> <sup>ταιέθ</sup> [   
 15 ]ονοσσαδ' α[   
 ]τιταδ[   
 ]καλλ[   
 ] . ε . [   
 ? 5 lines lost   
 25 ] . [ . ] . ασ . . . [   
 ] . σαντοθαλ . [   
 ]σπεριουσ[ ]ταεσπερι . . [   
 ] . τετεθμιον[ . . . ] . [   
 ]ουκεμεναι[   
 30 ]παλιναλλατε[ . . . ] . ω'συρα . .   
 ] . ρ[ . ]υκατανην [ . . ] . ιγυ[ . ] . α'συ <sup>[σ[υ]ρακοσ</sup>   
 ] . . γεστεπροεδ[ . ]ασ γατε<sup>[ρακαικοσησθν</sup>   
 ] . . εην <sup>[ . ] . χομ'οσ</sup> <sup>ευαρχοσ . [ . ] . σικε'ειχ . [ . . .</sup>   
<sup>πλετηλαγοσασκ'μακ'αχ . . [</sup>   
<sup>πετραναπο'ικατανην</sup>   
 ]αλλοναυτει ουτ'πολιν

Col. i.

] . αλ . [ . ] . . [   
 ] . κουρειά νυ πο[   
 ]γο . [ . ]υδε . [   
 ]ε δ' ες ήριον η[   
 5 ]τει σκοπελο[   
 ]ειθετις έν π[   
 ]eros ήθελ' ει[   
 ]γώ δ' από [δ]αιτ[   
 ]πέ]ρισσοτεροι[   
 10 ] . ρεσ ές ούατα [   
 ]ι φυλακη . [   
 [και γάρ έγώ τὰ μὲν ὅσσα καρῆ]ατι τῆμος εἶδακα   
 [ξανθὰ σὺν εὐδόμοις ἀβρὰ λίπ]η στεφάνο[ις,   
 [ἀπνοα πάντ' ἐγένοντο παρὰ χ]ρέος, ὅσσα τ' [ὀδόντων   
 15 [ἐνδοθι νειάιρην τ' εἰς ἀχάριστον εἶδν <sup>νειαίρ(ην)</sup> <sup>τῷ ἐ(πι)θ[</sup>   
<sup>ἐχ . [</sup>   
 [καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἐς αὐρί]ον· ὅσσα δ' ἀ[κουαῖς   
 [εἰσεθέμην, ἔτι μοι μούνα πάρεσ]τι τάδ[ε.   
 ]καλλ[   
 ] . ε . [   
 ? 5 lines lost   
 25 ] . [ . ] . ασ . . . [   
 ] . σαντο θαλ . [   
 ]σπερίους [ ]τα έσπερι . . [   
 ] . τε τέθμιον [ . . . ] . [   
 ] οὐκ έμέναι .   
 30 ] πάλιν άλλα τε[ . . . ] . ω ά(πό) Συρα . . ( )   
 ] . ρ[ο]υ Κατάνην <sup>[ση(ς) 'Α]ρχί[ο(υ)] γυ[ναικ(ος)] ή ά(πό) Σύ-</sup>   
<sup>ρα(ς) και Κόσσης θυ-</sup>   
 ] . . νες τε προέδ[ρ]ας γατέρ(αν).   
<sup>Εὐαρχος [ἐ]ρχόμ(εν)ος ε[ί]ς Σικελ(ίαν) εἶχε [ναῦς</sup>   
 ] . . εην <sup>πλετηλ( ) ἀγούσας κ(αί) μία κ(ατ)αχ[θ(είσα)] εἶ[ς</sup>   
<sup>πέτραν ἀπώλ(ετο). Κατάνην</sup>   
 ] άλλον άντεῖ <sup>ού(τω) τ(ήν) πόλιν.</sup>



35 ]σπαρυδωρ <sup>λελινοῦσσα ποτᾶ</sup> . . . ]  
 ]κεσεπλετοπασε[.]ν[  
 ]τικαλειν  
 ]εσερχεοναξ[  
 .η. .σ. .[  
 ] . . δαιμονιην  
 40 ]ωσιερωνα <sup>ησ[</sup>  
 ]εθαψεβω <sup>εκε[</sup>  
 ]οδωριδεσω . δ . [ <sup>λεσ[</sup>  
 ]σι . εα <sup>ερχε[</sup> εκβλη[  
 ] . [.]ογγύλοσερ[ <sup>αιτην[</sup>  
 45 ]λειν[  
 ]γύλονη[  
 ]ν

Col. ii. Plate II.

οιδαγέλ[.]ποταμο[.]κεφαλ[. . . . .]αστ[  
 λινδοθεναρχαιη[.]κιμπ[. . . . .]γγενε[  
 50 μινωι[.]καικησ[.]ανί[. . . . .]ταλοστ[  
 χευαν[.]ευρωπησῦει . [ . . . . .]δεσ [ <sup>α</sup>  
 οιδालεοντεινουσδ.ε.δρα[.  
 καιμεγαρεισετερ[.]υσπα[. . .]νασσαγκει . [ <sup>ερυξ[</sup>  
 νισαιοιμεγαρησεχωδ'ευβοιανενισπε[ <sup>αφου[</sup>  
 55 φιλατοκα[.]κεστ[.]υ[.]εσποτ[.]σηνερυκα <sup>κα . . . [</sup>  
 τωνουδεμιγα[. . .]ισπο[.]τειχοσεδειμε <sup>ου[</sup>  
 νωνυμνηνομιμηρχ[.]τεπειλαπινην  
 ωσεφαμνηκλειωδετο[.]ευτερονηρχ[. . .]υθ[. . .]  
 χειρ'επαδελφειησωμογερεισαμενη  
 60 λαοσομενκυμησοδεχαλκιδοςονπεριρησ  
 ηγαγεκαιμεγαλουλημακραταιμενεοσ  
 τρινακρ[.]ησεπεβησα[.]ετειχιζουδεποληα  
 αρπασονοιωνωουχιφυλα[. . . . .] <sup>[.]</sup>  
<sup>αρπασοσειοργουβασκα'</sup>

35 [- υ Σελινοῦσσης - πόλιος παρ' ὕδωρ (Σ)ελινοῦσσα πόλ(ις) ἀ(πό) Σ[ελι]ν(ούσσης) ποταμ(ού).  
 ]κες ἔπλετο πασε[ω]ν  
 ]τι καλείν  
 Θεοκλ[έ]ες, ἔρχεο Νάξ[ον] ?  
 ] . . δημοσίην . [ <sup>ε[</sup>  
 40 ]ως Ἰέρωνα <sup>ησ[</sup>  
 ]ε, Θάψε, βοή <sup>εκε[</sup> <sup>eis ?</sup> <sup>Λεο[ντί]νους ?</sup>  
<sup>έρχε[σθαι]</sup>  
 ]ο Δωρίδες ω . δ . [ <sup>αἰ' διὰ πεμφίγων αἰὲν ἄγου]σι νέα ἐκβλη[θ</sup>  
<sup>Αἴτην [</sup>  
 ] . [Τ]ογγύλος ερ[  
 45 ]λειν [ <sup>Γογ]γύλον η[</sup>  
 ]ν

Col. ii.

οἶδα Γέλ[α] ποταμο[ῦ] κεφαλ[ῆ] ἐπικείμενον] ἄστ[υ  
 Λίνδοθεν ἀρχαίη [σ]κιμπ[τόμενον] γενε[ῆ],  
 50 Μινφή[ν] καὶ Κρήσ[σ]αν, ἵ[να] ζείον]τα λοετ[ρὰ  
 χεῦαν ἐ[π'] Εὐρώπης υἱεῖ Κ[ωκαλί]δες·  
 οἶδα Λεοντίους δ' Ἀδρα[νιτῶν] τε πολίχνην  
 καὶ Μεγαρεῖς ἐτέρ[ο]υς (ὄς) πα[ρ]έ]νασαν ἐκεῖ . [ <sup>Ερυξ[ (υἱδ[ς]) Ποσειδ[ωνος]</sup>  
 55 φίλατο κα[ὶ] κεστ[ο]ῦ [δ]εσπότ[ι]ς ἦν Ἐρυκα· <sup>ἀφ' οὗ [ἡ] πόλις.</sup>  
<sup>κα(α) α . . [</sup>  
<sup>ου[</sup>  
 τᾶων οὐδεμίη γὰρ ὄτ]ις πο[τ]ε[ρ]εῖ τείχος ἔδειμε  
 νωνύμνη νομίμνη ἔρχ[ε]τ' ἐπ' εἰλαπίνην.  
 ὧς ἐφάμην· Κλειῶ δὲ τὸ [δ]εύτερον ἤρχ[ε]το μ]ύθ[ου  
 χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀδελφείης ὤμον ἐρεισαμένη·  
 60 λαὸς ὁ μὲν Κύμης ὁ δὲ Χαλκίδος δν Περιήρης  
 ἤγαγε καὶ μεγάλου λῆμα Κραταιμένεος  
 Τρινακρ[ί]ης ἐπέβησα[ν] ἐτείχιζον δὲ πόληα  
 ἄρπασον οἰωνῶν οὐχὶ φυλα[σ]σόμενοι] ἄρπασος εἰ[δ]ος] ὄρνέου βάσκαν(ον).

εχθιστονκτισταισινερωδιο[. . . . .]ρπει  
 65 καιγαροβασκα[.νειπυργονε[. . . . .]ρν  
 γεωδαίταικα[.]σπαρταδιην[. . . . .]βαλωνται  
 στεινεακαιλευρασοφρατα . [ . . . ]δουσ  
 μερμν[.]νμοιπτερυγεσσι . . . . [ . . . . .]ουτενεοιο αι[  
 ογ[. . . . .] [ ]  
 τε  
 εικοτιξ[.] . ηνλαονεποικονα[. . . . .] . τονεκτιν'ε'πολ[.] . [ ]  
 70 αλλοτεδημοσσυνασεπαλξεσι[. . . . .]ντασ <sup>μοσσυνασ[.]</sup> <sub>μαχεωνα[.]</sub>  
 οικτισταιδρεπανουθεντοπε[. . . . .]ν  
 κειθιγαρδωταγονησαπεθρισε[. . . . .]ε[. . .]οσ  
 κερυπταιγυπηξαγκλονυπ[. . . . .] <sup>γκλονδρεπαν[.]ν</sup> <sub>εελ[.]υσ</sub>  
 ε[.]τισαναμφιποληροσομενθε[. . . . .]εσθαι  
 75 [.]σφ[.]νοδαντιξουνειχεδιχο[. . . . .]  
 αλληλοισδελησανεσαπολ[. . . . .]τρεσ  
 ειρονθ'οπποτερουκτισμαλεγοιτ[. . . . .]  
 αυταροφημητονπεριηρεοσα[. . .] . [ . . . ]ναι  
 κεινοπολισσουχουμητεκραταιμ . [ . . . . ]  
 80 φηθεοσιδ'αιοντεσαπεδραμονε[. . . . .]νου  
 γαιατονοικιστηνουκ'ονομαστικ[. . . . .]  
 ωδεδεμικαλευσινεπεντομαδημ[.]οεργοι  
 [.]λαοσημετερηνοστισεδειμε[. . .] . ν  
 [.]χεσθωμεταδαιταπαρεστιδεκαιδυαγεσθαι  
 85 [.]αιπλεασουκολ[.]γρησα[.]μαβοοσκεχν[.]αι  
 [.]σημενλιπεμυθονεγωδετικαι[. . .]θεσθαι  
 [.]θελονηγαρμοιθαμβοσυπετρεφ[.]ο  
 [.]ισσοσησπαρδωρθεοδαισιακρη[. . .]ορτην θεοε' <sup>τειν ο Διονυ(σος) τοις</sup>  
 [.]πολισηκαδμουκωσαλιαρτοσαγ[. . . . .]ε'γ . . . . .  
 90 [.]αιστυρονενμουνουσιπολισμοσι[. . . . .]δι . ρτων ω[. . . . .]  
 [.]αιμινωμεγαλοισαγγεσιγαιαφ[. . . . .]ε'φ . . . . . [ . . . . .]  
 [.]ωθεδετικρηνηραδαμανθυο[. . . . .]τ[. . .]ν  
 [.]χνιατησκεινουλοιπανομογραφ[. . . . .] . [ . . . . .]  
 [.] . [.]αμονενδενντοιισοφοντοδετη[ ] <sub>αμαγ</sub>

εχθιστον κτίσταισιν, έρωδιδ[ς ει μη έφέ]ρπει,  
 65 και γάρ ο βασκα[ί]νει πύργον ε[γχειρόμεν]ον  
 γεωδαίται κα[ί] σπάρτα διην[εκές εϋτε] βάλωνται  
 στείνεα και λευράς δφρα τάμ[ωσιν δ]δούς.  
 μερμν[ο]υ μοι πτερύγεσσι . . . . [ . . . . .]ου τε νέοιο <sup>αι[</sup> <sub>ογ[. . . . .]</sub> [ ]  
 εΐ κοτ' έ(π)ί ξ[ε]ίνην λαδν έποικον α[γ]οις. [ . τον ε(ποικον?) κτίσ(την) κ(αι) πο-  
 70 άλλ' ότε δη μόσσυνας έπάλξεσι [καρτυνθ]έντας <sup>μόσσυνας [προ-]</sup> <sub>μαχεωνα[ς]</sub> λ[ί]τ[ην].  
 οι κτίσται Δρέπανον θέντο πε[ρ]ι Κρόνιο]ν,  
 κείθι γάρ φ̄ τὰ γονηος απέθρισε [μήδε' εκ]ε[ίν]ος  
 κέρυπται γύπη ξάγκλον υπ[ο]χθονίη, <sup>(α)γκλον δρέπαν[ο]ν</sup> <sub>κ(ατὰ) Σ[ι]κελ[ο]ύς.</sub>  
 ε[ί]τ' ίσαν άμφι πόληος· ό μέν θέ[λε]ν ούνομα θ[έ]σθαι  
 75 [τὸ] σφ[ό]ν, ό δ' άντίξουν ειχε διχο[φροσύνην],  
 άλλήλοις δ' έλύησαν· ές Απόλ[λων]α δ' ίβν]τες  
 ειρονθ' όπποτέρου κτίσμα λέγοιτ[ο] νέον.  
 αυτάρ ό φη, μήτ' ούν Περιήρεος α[στ]υ] β[ε]θ[η]ναι  
 κείνο πολισσούχου μήτε Κραταιμέ[νε]ος.]  
 80 φη θεός· οι δ' άιοντες απέδραμον, εκ δ' άρα κεί]νου  
 γαία τον οικιστήν ούκ όνομαστί κ[α]λε[ί]τ[αι],  
 ωδε δέ μιν καλέουσιν έπ' έντομα δημ[ι]οεργοί·  
 [ί]λαος ήμετέρην όστις έδειμε [πόλ]ιν  
 [έρ]χέσθω μετὰ δαίτα, πάρεστι δέ και δύ' άγεσθαι  
 85 [κ]αι πλέας· ούκ όλ[ί]γης α[ί]μα βοδς κέχυ[τ]αι.  
 ώ[ς] ή μέν λίπε μύθον, έγώ δ' έπί και [τὸ πυ]θέσθαι  
 [ή]θελον· ή γάρ μοι θάμβος υπετρέφ[ε]τ[ο].  
 [Κ]ισσούσης παρ' ύδωρ Θεοδαίσια Κρή[σσαν έ]ορτην θεοέν(ια)  
 [ή] πόλις ή Κάδμου κως Αλίαρτος άγ[ει] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 90 [κ]αι Στύρον εν μούνουσι πολίσμοσι [ . . . . .]δι . ρτων ω[. . . . .]  
 [κ]αι Μίνω μεγάλοις άγγεσι γαία φ[ο]ρεί, . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 [?] κλ]ώθε δέ τί κρήνη Ραδαμάνθυος . . . . . [τ] . . . ν  
 [ί]χνια της κείνου λοιπά νομογραφ[ί]ης  <sup>. . . . . ]</sup> <sub>Ρα[δαμάν]θ[ος] . . . . .</sub>  
 [ . . . ] . [α]μον εν δέ νυ τοίσι σοφόν τότε τη[ ]

Col. iii. . Plate II.

9 lines lost	120 τονμ[
	μ[
	ο[.]σ[
105 ην[	αμφω[
κα . [	αλλ'ομ[
τοσ[	125 εθρω[
κνω[	κε[
αγχ[	μη[
110 πεμ[	. ασ[
οπη[	σωζε[
3 lines lost	4 lines lost
115 [.]ν[	. [
νασσ[	135 μ[
κοπρ[	. . .
ενθ[	
υια[	

2. κούρεια, κουρέια,] . κ ούρεια?

4. ἠρίων: cf. Callim. Fr. 251.

6. The letters may be divided ]ει θέτις or ]ειθε (είθε?) τις.

9. ]ερισσοτεροι[: -ον or -ος are also possible. περισοότερον occurs at the end of a pentameter in Λούτρ. Παλλ. 122.

12-17 = Callim. Fr. 106, from Stob. Flor. 81. 8, where the passage is referred to Καλλιμάχου δεύτερον. Schneider after arguing that δεύτερον is an expansion of an original β' and that Αιτίων has been dropped in front of it, which of course is possible, proposed to alter β' to α' because the Prologue of the *Aetia* seemed to him the likeliest source of the fragment, a characteristic specimen of futile criticism. In l. 13 Valckenaer's commonly accepted emendation of the MSS. reading ἀκραλιπή seems at any rate preferable to the ἀκρα λίπη of Schneider, who takes ἀκρα as an adverb qualifying εὐδόμοις. In the next verse the papyrus confirms Naeke's well-justified alteration of παραχρημ' to παρά χρέος, which Schneider, though regarding it as likely, did not venture to put into his text. With regard to the marginal note opposite l. 15, it is possible to take the θ after ε(πι) as belonging to the line below and to read εχθ( ), but in that case ε(πι) was followed by a considerable blank space which cannot be accounted for. επιθ( ) might perhaps represent επιθ(έτω). ἀκουαίς (l. 16) is Bentley's emendation; ἀκουαίς MSS., Bergk.

19-25. The metre shows that an odd number of lines are lost in the lacuna, and five will make the two columns of the same length, but with normal spacing the gap seems insufficient for so many except on the supposition that l. 1 did not range quite accurately with l. 48. Perhaps therefore the loss should be reckoned at three lines only.

25. That the doubtful σ ended the verse is by no means certain.

26. Some vestiges above λ . [ seem to belong to a scholium.

Col. iii.

9 lines lost	120 τὸν μ[
	μ[
	ο[.]σ[
105 ην[	ἀμφω[
κα . [	ἀλλ' ὀμ[
τοσ[	125 ἔθρω[σκ
Κνω[σ ?	κε[
ἀγχ[	μη[
110 πεμ[	. ασ[
ὀπη[ο	σωζε[
3 lines lost	4 lines lost
115 [.]ν[	. [
νασσ[	135 μ[
κοπρ[	
ἐνθ[	
υια[	

27. ]σπεριους, which agrees sufficiently well with the scanty vestiges, appears to gain some support from the marginal note, but this may be deceptive; the ρ there is extremely doubtful, and the π may be τ. Immediately below the α in the note there is a short oblique dash presumably to be connected with a second line which has otherwise disappeared owing to the scaling of the upper fibres of the papyrus.

28. In consequence of the loss of the fibres mentioned in the previous note, it is not clear whether the final visible vestige (part of a vertical stroke) was the last letter of the line or not.

29. An oblique slightly curved mark after εμεναι perhaps represents a stop rather than the first letter of a short marginal gloss, which need not have been written so close to the end of the line. εμεναι would be expected from its position to be the last word of the pentameter.

30. It is clear from the marginal note, which relates to the derivation of the name of Syracuse, that there was a reference to that city in this line, but the note is somewhat complicated and reconstruction difficult. ] . ω at the beginning of it suggests Συρακῶ (Strabo, viii. 364, &c.), and ]κω might be read, but if this word be restored there will remain little room for the final foot of the hexameter; three letters, however, might be allowed for this if συρα was written in the same way as later in this line. ἀ(πὸ) Σύρας there is unsatisfactory, except on the supposition of a correction, for though the suspended letter may well be σ, vestiges below indicate a further letter after α. For ll. 3-4 cf. e.g. Genesis, Reg. p. 117 (Lachm.) Σ . . . αἰς ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάσων ταύτας Ἀρχίου θυγατρῶν Σύρας καὶ Κόσσης, Choerob. ad Theod. Can. p. 751. 10 (Gaisf.). The name of Archias should accordingly occur somewhere in the note, and the only possible place seems to be l. 3, where γν[ strongly suggests γυνή in some form. The preceding letter is almost certainly ι,

above which a suspended  $\sigma$  may be lost in a gap in the papyrus, and the vestiges in front are reconcilable with  $\chi$  or  $\rho\chi$ . If this is correct, l. 2 may be explained by supposing that alternative forms were given of the name of Archias' wife, who is otherwise unknown to fame. It is noticeable that Plutarch, *Am. Narr.* 2 mentions only one daughter, whom he calls *Συράκουσα*.

33. The marginal note no doubt contains a derivation of the name *Κατάνη* (l. 31) analogous to that given by Steph. Byz. s. v., *κέκληται δὲ οὕτως ἐπειδὴ κατέβη πρὸς τὸν Ἀμενανὸν ποταμὸν ἢ Θεοκλέους τοῦ Χαλκιδέως ναῦς, ἣν Δωριεῖς χωρὶς τοῦ ὕ νᾶν φασιν*: the connexion of the story both with Theocles and Euarchus is explained by Thucyd. vi. 3, where it is stated that, while the city was founded by the former, the latter became the official *οἰκιστής*. But the note is not free from obscurity. Some very small letters above the line beginning *εὐαρχος* may be suitably read as  $[\epsilon]ρχομ(ε)ος$  and regarded as a word accidentally omitted after  $\epsilon\upsilon$ . and subsequently supplied, the rest of the line then admitting of satisfactory restoration. The beginning of l. 2 however, where the object of *ἀγούσας* is expected, remains a crux. Apparently the first two letters are either  $\pi\lambda$  or  $\eta\chi$ , and there is no sign of any other letter having preceded these.  $\epsilon$  in place of  $\eta$  is unsuitable, nor, even if a mistaken repetition of  $\epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon$  could be assumed, would  $\tau\eta\lambda( )$  be easy to deal with: Euarchus can hardly have been carrying a cargo of  $\tau\eta\lambda\iotaς$ . The end of the adscript is also somewhat puzzling. If *μία . . . ἀπὸ(λετο)* is right, what is thereafter the natural reading, *Κατάνη οὐ τ(ῆν) πόλιν*, is unintelligible unless *κατάνη* be taken as an independent lemma and interpreted in the sense of *τυρόκηστis* implied by Plut. *Διο.* 58. This, however, is hardly admissible as the note stands, and it is preferable to suppose that, although  $\nu$  before  $\tau(ῆν)$  is not higher in the line than in some places elsewhere where there is no abbreviation, here  $\sigma'$  for  $\sigma\upsilon(\tau\omega)$  was meant and e. g. *ὠνόμασεν* is to be supplied.

35. *Σελιούσσης . . . πόλιος* can be restored with much probability from the adscript, in which  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda.$  for  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda.$  is a curious error; there is no doubt about the reading. *Σελιούσσα* is not otherwise attested.

37-9. The remains of these lines suggest an invocation of the *οἰκιστής* similar to that in ll. 82-4, and hence the variant *δημοσίην* is perhaps preferable to *δαιμονίην*; but the vocative *Θεοκλέης* need be no more than an instance of the tendency of Callimachus to apostrophe. For the restoration of the name cf. Thucyd. vi. 3. 1, Strab. 267.

40. Cf. Strab. 268 *ἀπέβαλε δὲ τοὺς οἰκῆτορας τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ Κατάνη, κατοικίσαντος ἑτέρους Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Συρακουσίων τυράννου καὶ προσαγορεύσαντος αὐτὴν Αἴτην ἀντὶ Κατάνης . . . κατὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ Ἰέρωνος κατελθόντες οἱ Καταναῖοι τοὺς τε ἐνοίκους ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνέσκαψαν τοῦ τυράννου. οἱ δὲ Αἰτναῖοι παραχωρήσαντες τὴν Ἰννησαν καλουμένην τῆς Αἴτης δρεινὴν ἤκησαν καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τὸ χωρίον Αἴτην*. The latter part of the adscript might be taken to refer to the Catanæans expelled by Hiero, e. g. *ἐκέ[λ(ευσεν)]* (sc.  $\delta$  Ἰερ.) *εἰς Λεο[υτίους] ἐρχέ[σθαι]*, but in that case the note, if continuous, would be expected to have been begun lower down, and Theocles and the Naxians are more probably the subject throughout; cf. Thucyd. vi. 3. 3  $\Theta.$  *δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὀρμηθέντες . . . Λεοντίους . . . οἰκίζουσι*, in accordance with which the last three lines might be restored e. g. *ἐκέ[ῖθεν]* (sc.  $\epsilon\kappa$  Νάξου) *δὲ εἰς | Λεο[υτίους] | ἐρχέ[σθαι] φασι*. If however a short horizontal stroke extending to the left from the base of the first  $\epsilon$  of *ἐκέ[ ]* is meant for a paragraphus, that line is not to be constructed with the two below.

41. A reference to Thapsus, which according to Thucyd. vi. 4. 1 was founded about the same time as the other places just mentioned, seems likelier here than *ἔθαψε*, though the latter might perhaps be brought into connexion with the statement of Strabo 268 about the tomb of Hiero; see the previous note.

42. The doubtful  $\delta$  may be  $\alpha$  and the preceding letter  $\iota$ ,  $\rho$ , or perhaps  $\sigma$ , though the last would be rather cramped.

43. The very scanty vestiges after  $\sigma\iota$  are consistent with  $\nu$ , and the termination of this line will thus correspond with Callim. Fr. 483 *μὴ διὰ πεμφίγων ἐνάγουσιν ἕα*, a variously emended citation which Schneider gives as *ἦ διὰ π. αἰὲν ἄγουσι νέα*. With Lobel's substitution of  $\alpha\iota$  for  $\eta$  this well suits the present context, *Δωριεῖς* in l. 42 meaning the Nereids, and *νέα* 'ship'. For the adscript cf. the passage quoted from Strabo in the n. on l. 40.

44. The letter before  $\nu$  seems to have been either  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ , and the allusion to Gongylus (cf. Thucyd. vii. 2. 1), suggested by Lobel, is sufficiently probable, especially as *στρογγύλος* seems less well adapted to the remains. In Thucyd. the name is proparoxytone, but according to Arcadius, p. 55. 20 *τὰ εἰς υλος τρισύλλαβα κύρια ὄντα, ἔχοντα τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν μηχανομένην, παροξύνεται*. Cf. l. 46.

46. Cf. l. 44, n.

48-67. 'I know the city set at the head of the river Gelas which boasts its ancient descent from Lindus, and Cretan Minoa, where the daughters of Cocalus poured boiling bath-water on Europa's son, I know Leontini and the Adranites' town and the other Megarians whom the Megarians of Nisa planted there hard by, and I can tell of Euboea and Eryx beloved of her who owns the girdle; and indeed none of these comes to the stated feast leaving him unnamed who built their walls. So spake I; and again Clio began the tale, leaning her hand upon her sister's shoulder: The folk coming partly from Cyme, partly from Chalcis, whom Perieres led and great-hearted Crataemenes, landed in Trinacria and fortified a city, heedless of a falcon, most hostile of birds to settlers—unless a heron approaches; for it turns ever a baleful eye on the rising tower and the land-admeasurers, what time they throw their cords in order to cut the alleys and smooth roads.'

48 = Callim. Fr. 361, with *οἱ δὲ* in place of *οἶδα*. Schneider blames Toup and Goeller for emending *οἱ δὲ* to *οἶδε*, which however proves to be much nearer the truth than his own *οἱ δέ*.

49. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 4. 3, where it is stated that some of the settlers came from Rhodes and that part of the town was called *Λίνδιοι*.

50. The Sicilian Minoa was near Selinus, of which it was an offshoot according to Hdt. v. 46. For Minos and the daughters of Cocalus cf. Schol. AD on Hom. B 145 *Δαίδαλος . . . ἔμεινε παρὰ ταῖς Κωκάλου θυγατράσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Μίνως . . . ἀποθύησκει καταχυθέντος αὐτοῦ ζεστοῦ ὕδατος, Ἰστορεῖ Φιλοστέφανος καὶ Καλλιμ. ἐν Αἰτίοις, Schol. Pind. Nem. 95 Δαίδαλος . . . πείθει τὰς θυγατέρας Κωκάλου διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς ποιῆσαι καταρροὴν, δι' οὗ ἐκχυθὲν θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐπενεχθήσεται τῷ Μίνω λουομένην, and Diodor. iv. 79 (who says that Minos *κατῆρε τῆς Ἀκραγατίνης εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Μίνω καλουμένην*), Pausan. vii. 4. 6. The reference to Callimachus in Schol. Hom. B 145 is possibly to the present passage, and it may be doubted whether *Ἰκάριον πέλαγος* (Callim. Fr. 5) should be credited to him. *ζέοντα* occurs in Callim. *H.* iii. 60.*

52. The line is completed *ex. gr.*; for *πολιχην* cf. Callim. *H.* iv. 41. *Ἀδρανὸν* or *-ός* was *ἐν τῇ Αἴτην* (Steph. Byz. s. v.).

53. *οὖς* has evidently dropped out after *ἐτέρ[ο]ς*, an easy error. A vestige on the edge of the papyrus belongs to a marginal note.

54. *Νισαῖοι Μεγαρηεῖς* is the beginning of a line in Theocr. xii. 27. Sicilian Euboea, which is mentioned by Hdt. vii. 156, was, like Megara, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse.

55. *κεστ[ο]ῦ [δ]εσπότη[ς]*: i. e. Aphrodite. Possibly this is the passage referred to by Schol. A on Homer,  $\Gamma$  371 *ὁ δὲ Καλλιμαχος ὡς ὄνομα κύριον τοῦ ἱμάντος τὸν κεστὸν ἐδέχεται* (Callim. Fr. 562). The distorted order is characteristic of the poet; cf. 2079. 22, Fr. 445, &c. Though the gist of the first two lines of the adscript is evident, the wording of the supplements is of course uncertain.

56-7. The general drift of the passage indicates that *νοῦμνη* is here used in an active sense, for which cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 17 *Σαπφούς νόμνος*.

60-1. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 4. 5 οἰκιστὰι Περίηρης καὶ Κραταιμένης ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς, ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος, and for the periphrastic use of λῆμα Pindar, *Pylh.* 3. 43 λ. Κορωνίδος.

63. ἄρπασον: cf. Anton. Lib. 20 Ἄρπην μὲν καὶ Ἄρπασον ἔκτειρε Ποσειδῶν καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ὄρνιθας τῷ αὐτῷ λεγομένους ὀνόματι. The enmity of this bird to settlers does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

64. A heron was apparently regarded as a bird of good omen; cf. Hipponax, Fr. 63 δεξιῶ . . . ῥωδιῶ, Servius ad Virg. *Aen.* vii. 411 *Ardea* . . . licet Hyginus in *Italicis urbibus ad augurio avis ardeae dictam velit*. ἔρωδι[ς εἰ μὴ ἐφέ]ρπει, if rightly restored, is therefore more likely to mean that the hostility of a ἄρπασος could be counteracted by an ἔρωδιός than that it was only exceeded by that of an ἔρωδιός. For the scansion cf. e. g. Callim. Fr. 480 and the Rainer fragment of the *Hecale*, l. 48 (Fr. 34 Pfeiffer) ἄκρω ἀώτῳ.

65. Professor Housman points out that ἐ[γχειρόμεν]ον having the support of *H.* ii. 64 θεμελία . . . ἐγείρειν is preferable to ἐ[παιρόμεν]ον.

66 = Callim. Fr. 158, from Etym. Magn. 223. 17, where the first word is given as γαιοδάται. Bentley rightly proposed to emend this to γεωδαίται, which is rejected by Schneider in favour of Sturz's γαιοδάται, partly because this involves a smaller change, partly on the ground that Callimachus might be expected to prefer the form γηδαίται. His reference of the line to Book iii turns out equally unhappy. διηκεές is to be connected with l. 65.

67. στείνεα: apparently the narrow byways as opposed to main thoroughfares; cf. Homer, *Ψ* 419 στείνους ὁδοῦ κοιλῆς.

68-9. This couplet presents a combination of difficulties. In l. 69 ξ after τῆ is probable, but β, which this writer makes with a flat top, is a just possible alternative, and further on either ην or ειν may be read; the intermediate vestiges are very ambiguous. εικότε, of which the third syllable has been inserted above the line, can be divided εἴ κοτε or εἰκότ' εἰ . . ., but with the latter, although the accusative might be supposed to carry on, in somewhat awkward fashion, the construction of ll. 63-4, the rest of the verse becomes extremely intractable. εἴ κοτε is more promising, but τιξ[.] . . ην or τιβ[.] . . ην remains a stumbling-block. Though emendation in a defective context is always objectionable, I have ventured on the guess that εἴ κοτ' ἐπὶ ξ[ε]ίνην represents the original text; ξ[ε]ίνην suits the remains sufficiently well, and cf. l. 86, where ἐπὶ appears as a variant for ἔτι. Accepting this, Professor Housman proposes to read ἄ[γ]οις, and in the previous line, where ]ου is evidently another bird name like μερμ[ο]ῦ, πτερύγεσσι ὑπ' ἀ[γ]υπι]οῦ τε οἱ πτερύγεσσι μέτ' ἰκτίου τε, supposing these to be birds of good omen contrasted with the ἄρπασος: 'Pray let the omens of hawk and vulture (kite) conduct you on your way, if ever you lead colonists abroad.' Unfortunately υπ is plainly out of the question, and μετ' κ[α]τ[ε]ρ[ε]ν]ου, if perhaps not impossible, is not satisfactory, for, though ε is very suitable, μ and τῆ are too much compressed, and some part of the right hand base of μ should be visible; palaeographically πτερυγεσσι επ or εν would be much better. On the other hand the ethical μοι, which is the easiest reading of the letters after μερμ[ο]ῦ, favours some such meaning. Other possibilities are μω, μεν, μη, of which the last is unlikely and the second unsatisfactory, not on account of the following τε (cf. e. g. Soph. *Ant.* 1162-3 σώσας μὲν . . . λαβῶν τε) but because the ε would be unusually cramped.

What remains of the marginal note is not very helpful. In the third line ε may be supposed to stand for ἔ(ποικον): the mark like a grave accent might be part of a letter, α or δ, neither of which however provides an easy resolution.

70-93. 'But when the founders had set ramparts strengthened with battlements about Drepanum, town of Cronus (for there the sickle wherewith he shore off his father's genitals lies buried in a hole beneath the ground), they went about the city: one wished to give it his own name, the other was of a contrary mind, and they were at variance; so going to

Apollo they asked whose the new foundation should be called. But he said, Let the city be named neither after Perieres as patron nor after Crataemenes. The god spake, and they heard and departed; and from that time the land calls not upon its colonizer by name, but thus do the magistrates summon him to the sacrifice: Let him who built our city come graciously to the feast, and he may bring with him two or more; of no small heifer has the blood been shed. So ceased she the tale; but I wished further to learn this, for indeed I still cherished wonder: why by Cissusa's stream Haliartus, city of Cadmus, celebrates the Cretan festival of Theodaesia, and why Styrum alone of cities and the land of Minos bears . . . in large pitchers, and why the fountain of Rhadamanthus . . . the last traces of his lawgiving.'

71-3. Lines 72-3 = Callim. Frs. 502+172; the last two words of the hexameter are given in Etym. Magn. gen. A (Reitzenstein, *Index lect.* i, p. 12): Reitzenstein combined the two fragments, correcting the traditional ὄρα to φ' ῥά: cf. Pfeiffer, *Callim. Frag.* 50. That this had not been accomplished before is surprising in view of the paraphrase in Steph. Byz. s. v. Ζάγκλη . . . οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ Κρόνον τὸ δρέπανον ἀποκρύψαι φ' τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέκοψεν αἰδοῖα: cf. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 985. The impersonal ἐκ[ε]ίν[ω]ς in l. 72 makes πε[ρὶ Κρόνου]ν certain at the end of the previous line. For γύπη Etym. Magn. 406. 51, the source of Fr. 172, has γυνή, which Bentley proposed to alter to βύνη, an emendation regarded as *certissima* by Schneider, who went further astray by writing Βύνη . . . ὑπὸ Χθονίη; however, the γύπη of Toup and Ruhnken turns out to be correct. Reitzenstein and Pfeiffer, *ll. cc.*, divide ὑπὸ χθονίη, but there is no reason to depart from the lection of the Etym. Magn.; things are hidden in holes, not under them. The couplet, rightly understood by Rossbach as referring to the Sicilian Zancle (*Jahrb. f. Philol.* 143. 93), is connected with the second book of the *Aitia* by Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 869 (Callim. Fr. 22) τὸ δρέπανον παρὰ Σικελίοις ζάγκλον καλεῖται. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Κ. ἐν δευτέρῳ Αἰτίων. Cf. the adscript of the papyrus at l. 73. Rauch had discerned in that fragment an allusion to the story of Uranus and Cronus.

74. ε[ξ]ῆ: ἴσαν: the letter before ε may be γ but not ρ, so that ἦρισαν is excluded; this idea comes later in l. 76.

75. σφ[δ] is very uncertain, the remains of the first two letters being scanty and, though reconcilable with σφ, not suggesting those letters; but the sense at any rate is clear. διχο[φροσύνην] is perhaps preferable to διχο[στασίην].

76. For ἐλίησαν cf. Hesych. λυάται' στασιάζει, διαφέρει. ἰόν]τες is a trifle short for the space, but nothing more suitable suggests itself.

77. ἔρονθ': cf. 1011. 38 ἔρετο δ' αὐτήν. ἦρονθ' is not to be read. Cf. the dispute about Thuri, which was similarly settled by an appeal to the oracle of Delphi (Diod. xii. 35).

78. ἀ[στυ] β[ε]θῆναι; or perhaps ἀ[στυ]ρ[ον] εἶ]ναι. A vestige of the lower end of a slightly lengthened vertical stroke suits ρ among several other letters (e. g. ι, κ, τ, υ).

80. Cf. 1011. 38 ἡ θεός· αὐτὰρ ὁ Νάξον ἔβη and the Rainer *Hecale* (Pfeiffer 34), l. 9 ὁ μὲν φάτο, τοὶ δ' ἄλοντες.

86. Between ἔτι and the v. l. ἐπὶ there is not much to choose, but the latter is perhaps more likely to be original. Either καὶ [τό] or καὶ [τι] may be restored.

88-9. Cf. Plut. *Lys.* 28 κρήνην τὴν Κισσοῦσαν προσαγορευομένην, ἔνθα μυθολογοῦσι τὰς τιθῆνας νήπιον ἐκ τῆς λοχέας ἀπολοῦσαι τὸν Διόνυσον· καὶ γὰρ οἰνωπὸν ἐπιστίλβει τὸ χρῶμα καὶ διανγές καὶ πιεῖν ἠδιστον. οἱ δὲ Κρήσιοι στύρακες οὐ πρόσω οἰνωπὸν περιπεφύκασιν, ἃ τεκμήρια τῆς Ῥαδαμάνθου αὐτοῦ κατοικήσεως Ἀλιάρτιοι ποιοῦνται, καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσιν Ἀλεᾶ καλοῦντες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης μνημεῖον ἐγγύς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ, ὡς φασιν, ἐκηδεύθη συνοικήσασα Ῥαδαμάνθου μετὰ τὴν Ἀμφιτρίωνος τελευτήν. According to Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 4. 11 and Tzetz. *Lycophr.* 50 Ocalaea was the place in Boeotia at which Rhadamanthus lived after marrying Alcmena. The Cretan Θεοδαΐσια are mentioned in C. I. G. 2554. 31, 79, Θεοδαΐσιος according to Hesychius being

an epithet of Dionysus (cf. the passage from Plutarch cited above, and the adscript below l. 88 here). Hesychius further states that ἡρόχια was another name for the Θεοδαΐσια, and Schmidt in his *Ed. Min.* s. v. ἡρόχ. refers that word to Callim. Fr. 103, with which however it apparently has nothing to do, nor is it found elsewhere in Callimachus, if Schneider's index is to be trusted; I am unable to guess what Schmidt had in view.

90. Styra was on the south-west coast of Euboea. The singular Στύρον is found also in Hdn. Π. μιν. λέξ. 38, but (τὰ) Στύρα is the normal form. Possibly some relation was traced between this name and the Κρήσιοι στύρακες which are said by Plutarch to have grown at Haliartus; see the passage cited in the previous note. Euboea is mentioned in connexion with Rhadamanthus in the legend of his visit to Tityus in Homer, η 321 sqq.; cf. the line quoted from Eurip. *Rhadamanth.* by Strabo, p. 356 (Nauck, Fr. 658) οἱ γῆν ἔχουσι' Εὐβοῖδα πρόσχωρον πόλιν. At the end of the line after the lacuna αι or δι is more likely than λι or ν, and for the next letter the choice appears to be between ε and ο: the latter is better adapted to the rather narrow space, but if a vestige between ι and ρ is the base of the letter and not the top of the supposed φ in the adscript below, this would be more suitable to ε. εὐροτ . . is not to be read. The termination is also very uncertain; what have been regarded as parts of the two vertical strokes of ν may belong to the annotation.

91. Μίνω γαία may mean either Cnossus or Crete in general. φ[ορεῖ, which seems preferable to φ[έρεῖ, may be constructed like ἄγει with κῶς, otherwise γαί' ἄ can be written.

92. [.]ωθε suggests only [κλ]ῶθε, which is, to say the least, an unexpected predicate of κρήνη; the θ, though imperfectly preserved, is unavoidable.

93. At the end of this line the surface of the papyrus is rubbed and further letters may have followed the slight visible remains of a marginal note.

94. The first letter after the initial lacuna may be α, ε, λ, μ, or σ. In view of the passage cited above from Plutarch *Lys.* § [γ]άμον deserves consideration. ἐν δὲ νυ τοῖσι occurs at the end of a line in 1362. 5.

108. Κνω[σ- looks likely in this context; but the third letter might be α or ε.

119. Possibly identical with Callim. Fr. 171 *ἡ Διώνυσον Ζαγρέα γειναμένη* (sc. Περσεφόνη: *Etym. Magn.* 406. 46); cf. ll. 88 and schol.

## 2081. ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS OF 1174-5, 1231, 1233, 1361, 1790, 1798, 1800.

The following fragments belonging to texts already edited have come to light since their original publication. In themselves of slight value, they are included here for the sake of completeness.

### (a) 1174. SOPHOCLES, *Ichneutae*.

Fr. 1. A small fragment adding a few letters in vi. 11-13, where read:

(11) κᾶκομιστα (12) [.]ωματ' (13) φάλητες

Fr. 2. Fr. 3. Fr. 4.

[τι?] δῆ σινε . [ ]οι [ατημε]

μανίων . [	]ταχα[	] . υνίου β[
ὦ παμπονη[ρε	]ι	]μη φυ[
[.] . α' τάχ' οργα[	]δε μο[	] . . . [
5 [τ]αληθες ει . [	5 ]ουη	

Fr. 5.

. υ . . κ[  
 ἄγ' εια νυ[ν  
 μωχοι σκ[επαζεις?  
 Παγ' [

Fr. 6.

] . . . [  
 ]ρ ο κτειν[  
 ]α' τίσι μο[  
 ] ουδ' ο γ[

Fr. 2. This fragment appears to belong to Col. xv. The left margin is lost, and it is therefore not absolutely certain that there were no paragraphs at ll. 2 and 3, but if written, some portion of them would rather be expected to be visible, and moreover the contents of ll. 3-4 suit a continuous speech of Cyllene. Hence the fragment is best placed above the piece containing xv. 1-6, which it closely resembles externally. Line 1 of the new fragment will then be the first of the column, since even with xv. 6 and 7 combined, as suggested in the note in Part IX, p. 85, *ad loc.*, it will stand quite on a level or slightly above l. 1 of Col. xiv. Apparently therefore this was the final line of the antistrophe, and what in the strophe was written in two lines (xiii. 12-13) was here given in one. If this is correct, xiii. 12-13 are not to be regarded as outside the strophe, and the emendation of ἐμοὶ δέ to ἐμοὶ μηδέ is preferable to μηδέ simply.

1. Either σὺ ν or σὺν.

4. A faint mark on the edge of the papyrus suggests a letter with a rounded top like ε, ρ, or σ; perhaps [θ]εᾶ τάχ' ὄργα[ς.

5. Possibly εἰπ[ὸν (?), if the cross-bar of the π projected slightly; but τ, e. g., is more suitable.

Fr. 3. This resembles Cols. iii-iv in the dark colour of the papyrus, but I have no more precise suggestion to make concerning its source; the script is a shade smaller than usual.

Fr. 4. This fragment is rather similar in appearance to Col. xv, but its attribution to 1174, as with Frs. 5-6, is dubious. That it is verse is likely owing to the accented syllable (apparently an interlineation) below l. 3. Possibly κερ]αυτίου in l. 2.

Fr. 5. The contents of this fragment are suitable to the *Ichneutae* and its appearance to a position in the neighbourhood of Cols. xv-xvii. For ἄγ' εια cf. iv. 7, where εια has a rough breathing, which is here given to ἄγ', presumably by a slip of the pen.

Fr. 6. A fragment somewhat similar to the two preceding and, like them, assigned to this play with much hesitation. In l. 3 I do not understand the interlinear sign, which resembles a mark of length joined on the right by a sigma.

(b) 1175. SOPHOCLES, *Euryptilus*.

Fr. 1.

.	[		x ποιει[ι
σ	[		x λυκο[ι
σ .	[		επει . [
έρημ[ι		10	τρα[ι
5 παυσ[ι			θηρ . [
νους . [			άγω[ι

The above fragment apparently joins on at the top of 1175. 1, the first line of the latter coalescing with l. 12 here. Since twenty-nine consecutive lines are thus produced, l. 1 is likely to have been the first of the column, but the margin is broken away.

3-4. Perhaps σφ[ι, if a speck of ink over η in l. 4 belongs to the line above; but there is more ink just to the right, and possibly all these marks over the η represent a cancelled circumflex accent.

Fr. 2.

. . . . .  
]ν κακων  
] αει.  
. . . . .

This joins on at the ends of Fr. 5. iii. 22-3, where the supplements proposed are not confirmed, though Pearson's καλων in l. 22 turns out to be nearer the truth than the έτων or δ' έτων of Wilamowitz; the punctuation of the *editio princeps* was rightly retained by Pearson.

Fr. 3 forms a connecting link between Frs. 80 and 81, which in combination with the new fragment should now be read as follows:

.	.	.	.	.
	α	νοσσων	χ[ι	
	ν	αμφ	Αχιλ[λ	
	.	αχ[ι.	ρέπην,	σαφη[ι
	ι	πρόκουρος	ή δε	θριξ[ι
5	γ	ωνας .	η δε	κληδος [
	ν	ή δ'	ανορθ[ι.	[.] χαρι[ι
	.	[.]υδος	ως α[ι.	]ος νο[ι

τον ωσπερ ή [φα]τις  
ηλθε[ι]ν] λη[μα]τος γ[ι  
10 ] τοιουτος [ . . . ]ος  
]εκηρυξ[ι . . . ] . . [  
]θμευ[ι  
]ε . [  
]φορ . [

1. νοσσόν for νεοσσόν is cited from Aeschylus' *Kήρυκες* in Bekker, *Anecd.* i. 109. 22 (Fr. 113 Nauck).

2. Either 'Αχιλλ[λ]έα or -έως.

3. There may be only one letter lost between χ and ρ, and τάχ' [ή]ρέπη e.g. would be possible; but perhaps βέπη should be read. For the *diasiole* after πη cf. e.g. 1175. 5. iii. 10-11.

4. πρόκουρος is apparently not otherwise attested.

8. For ωσπερ ή [φά]τις cf. Soph. *O. T.* 715 ωσπερ γ' ή φάτις, *At.* 978 ωσπερ ή φάτις κρατεί. ι . [ could be read instead of ή but is less easily restored.

9. λή[θαρ]γος is possible, but λή[μα]τος is a likelier word. The final letter may be γ or π (e.g. π[λέως]).

Fr. 4 joins Fr. 83, which is from the bottom of a column.

. . . . .  
]ειθ . [ .  
]φο[ι]τάντ[ι]  
]μεν ουδ[ε]ν των λ . [ .  
υ-υ] υμῖν δ' [ω] ξεινοι δυσήκοα [

Fr. 5.

η συ και [ .  
και κο[ι  
[ . . ]υκ . [ .  
[ . . ]τ[ι]

Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
.[  
η[ι  
ωσφα[ι

Fr. 7.

. . . . .  
[.] . [ .  
π . [ .  
τι . [ .  
εία δ[ι  
5 κερδ[ι  
εα' τι φ[η]ς ?

Fr. 8.	Fr. 9.	Fr. 10.	Fr. 11.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
τ . [	]α . . . [	]του[	]υτω[
την [	]μων[	]μ[	]ν γ' α[
καλω[	]γω[	]τυτ[	]ηιδε[
ηλεκτ[	]υέ[	. . . . .	]π[
5 β̄ α[.] . κ . [	. . . . .	]αμελπ[	. . . . .
[. . ]νγ[	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.	Fr. 14.	Fr. 15.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . αδ[	]βε'	]χ . [	]ην' [
]φω	] ]	] . υβσ[	]σ ουτ[ω'
] κλυων	] ]	]μ' οδ[	] τ . [
]σ εχω	] ]	. . . . .	] . τ[
5 τ]υχειν'	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ουμεν[	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ι'	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ρι	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.	Fr. 18.	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
] . [.] . [	] . . . [ι	]τισ[	
]υπο[	] . ασ	]η' τ[	
] προσθησ[	] ]	]ασ[	
] . ε' προσθησ[	] βαθυν'	]μα[	
5 ] τοσον κρα[	5 ]υς	. . . . .	
. . . . .	] . ρας	. . . . .	
. . . . .	] ]	. . . . .	
. . . . .	] ]	. . . . .	

Fr. 5-6. These two small fragments are to be classed with 1175. 4, 6-7, 9-40. In l. 1 of Fr. 5 the scribe after writing η left a blank which has been filled in by the second hand. The latter also deleted the τ in l. 4, crossing it through and placing a dot above.

Fr. 7-8. The ink in these fragments is darker, as in 1175. 1-3, 5, &c. For the rough breathing on εα in Fr. 7. 4 cf. 1174. iv. 7, 2081. (a) 5. 2, n.; the paragraphus below this line is somewhat doubtful. In Fr. 8 there seems to have been a stichometrical figure, probably β (i. e. 200), in the margin to the left of ll. 4 and 5.

Fr. 9-11. The hand in these is rather larger, especially the two latter; Fr. 11 has some similarity to Frs. 3+80, 81 above. The corrector's interlinear ε in Fr. 10. 4 is strange; ελπομαι (έέλπ.) is not a tragic word, and if the intention was to show that μ represented με, a mark of elision would be expected. In Fr. 9. 3 the supposed mark of length is very uncertain.

Fr. 12-15. Frs. 12 and 13 resemble Frs. 4 and 83 above. There is a blank space below Fr. 12. 8, but this may be due to the succeeding lines having been slightly shorter. There is also a blank space above ρε in Fr. 13, but this may be similarly accounted for. That fragment and Fr. 15 seem to belong to the same group as the other two.

Fr. 16-18 are similar in appearance to 1175. 91 sqq.; the ink in Fr. 18 is rather darker than in the other two. Fr. 17 might well come from the same column as Fr. 92, but if so must be placed below it. In editing 1175, I failed to notice that the worm-holes in Frs. 91-2 show an identical pattern, whence it can be inferred that l. 1 of Fr. 92 corresponded approximately with l. 5 of Fr. 91, implying a loss of four lines at the top of the former. The two fragments presumably belong to adjacent columns, but which preceded is not clear; they cannot be combined into one, since l. 19 of Fr. 91 is apparently complete.

## (c) 1281 (SAPPHO, BOOK I).

Fr. 1, containing the letters ]δη[ and ]νε[ has been joined to Frs. 29+42, which had been previously combined by Lobel. As thus reconstructed the fragment reads:

. . . . .  
]  
]δηντ[  
? γε]νεσθ[  
]ων γεν[  
κτλ.

Two others are still unplaced:

Fr. 2.	Fr. 3.
. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . [	] ]
]γαισν[	]γασδ[





Two further small pieces have to be added to the unplaced fragments:

Fr. 1.		Fr. 2.	
Col. i.	Col. ii.	.	.
]. [ .	.	.	.
]ρ[	.	]. [	.
.	κ[	]καμο[	.
.	εχθ[	]α εστιν περι[	.
.	τοξ[	γ]εγενησθαι εξ . [	.
.	.	5 ? τεσ]σaras επτα και [	.
.	.	]ης δεκα και δε[	.
.	.	] . και π[ . ]θαρα . [	.
.	.	]τ . [ . ] ρμε[	.

Fr. 1. The adscript (Col. i) is more probably remains of a scholium than of a title referring to Col. ii.

(f) 1790 (IBYCUS).

Two small pieces have been fitted on to Frs. 2+3, one completing the first syllable of *ἰπποτρόφος* in l. 30, the other giving the first *a* of *δοιδάν* in l. 48 and completing the broken *πο* in the line above.

Fr. 1.	Fr. 2.	Fr. 3.	Fr. 4.
.	.	.	.
]. [	] . σ[	]ασ[	]ε . [
]	] . νεπι[	]ν	]νικη[
]ν .	]ωνια[	]	]σεμε[
]	]σαν[	]τάνω[	] . ολᾶι
]	5 ]πασ[	]	5 ] ἄγητορι χ[
]	]ρητο[	]	]μους να[
.	]σι γυ[	]	]εροεντα[
.	.	.	.

Fr. 1. 3 is not to be placed at the end of 1790. 1+2. 2.

Frs. 3-4. These two very fragile fragments probably came from the same column as Fr. 7, being of the same deep colour and marked with similar whitish spots; but I can make no satisfactory combination. Fr. 4, from the bottom of a column apparently, has a strip of papyrus stuck on the back, perhaps to strengthen it or owing to the junction of two

*selides*. In l. 4, it is not quite certain that *α* ended the line, since some fibres have scaled off at this point, but some trace of the bases of any further letters would be expected. In l. 5 the sign over the first letter may be a mark of length.

(g) 1798 (ANONYMOUS WORK ON ALEXANDER THE GREAT).

Fragment from the top of a column; verso blank.

]οννη[  
π]ερι συμ[  
μ]ελλόντ[  
]εφοβε[  
5 τ]ωι λογιωι [   
]ν ἰομ[ωρ ?  
] . [

The possible occurrence of the word *ἰομωροι* in l. 6 suggests a combination with Fr. 2 containing the hexameter lines referring to the destruction of Thebes, and the fragment might e. g. be placed so that l. 6 continues Fr. 2. 3 forming the word *δακρύσειν*; but the verso does not confirm this and there was perhaps a slight gap between the two pieces. If they were connected at all closely τ]ωι λογιωι in l. 5 presumably gave the source of the quotation, and *κυλισει*, in spite of the wide space, should be restored in Fr. 2. 6. In (g) 6, however, *ιομ[εω]* is an alternative. ]οννη[ in l. 1 might be *Πελοπ]οννη[σ . .*, but the first letter is possibly *ω* not *ο*.

(h) 1800 (BIOGRAPHIES).

Two additional small pieces have been placed, one being 1811. 44, which fits on in Fr. 2, ll. 56-8, where read *λη[ξ]ειν, -χρῖς το[ν Α]ισ., -[κω]νται*, the other giving the missing letters at the beginnings of Fr. 3. 25-9, where the brackets are to be deleted (in l. 29 the top of the *φ* is visible). I now think that Fr. 19 is to be combined with Fr. 12, joining on at the top so that l. 1 of Fr. 12 coalesces with l. 5 of Fr. 19. In connexion with the identification of 1811. 44 as belonging to 1800, it may be well to emphasize the statement in Part XIII, p. 129, that the attribution to that text of several of the minor fragments is uncertain. To those mentioned I would add Frs. 3, 39, 57, 67. 63 may safely be eliminated.

Fr. 1.	Fr. 2.
.	.
]. [	]ε . [ . ] . αν λ[

	λυε . [	]αλως γενο[
	]ουτε κυ[	]φ[
	]τεπει[	
5	]δονο[	
	ο]λιγ[	

Fr. 1. 5. If Μακε]δονο[ occurred here, a not unlikely place for this fragment would be the lower part of 1800. 3. i.

2082. PHLEGON, *Chronica* (?).

Width of column about 8 cm.

Late second century.  
Plate IV (Frs. 5-7).

It is a pity that more has not survived of the historical book represented in the following fragments, which relate to the early years of the third century B. C., a somewhat dark period whereon further precise information would be very welcome. Still, the little that is here recovered is by no means without value; its principal contribution is to overthrow the current chronology of the tyranny of Lachares at Athens, and while presenting an account of the manner in which that episode came about, to place it in a somewhat altered perspective.

The work was arranged on a strictly chronological plan according to numbered Olympiads (Fr. 4. 16), subdivided into years (Fr. 3. 24, Frs. 6 + 7. 9), the names of the victors in the various Olympic contests being given in full (Fr. 4. 17 sqq., Frs. 6 + 7). It was a comprehensive work, dealing with Roman (Frs. 6 + 7. 9) and Sicilian (Fr. 5) history at any rate, as well as with that of Greece and Macedonia. And the treatment appears to have been more or less summary; for though the events connected with the tyranny of Lachares are described at some length (Frs. 1, 2, 4), the writer's style points rather to a historical compendium than to a detailed and connected narrative (cf. e.g. the use of δὲ καί in Fr. 1. 2, Fr. 3. 15).

The question at once arises, who was this writer? There happens to be a work known to us, the characteristics of which seem to correspond sufficiently well with those of the present fragments to justify the identification tentatively proposed above. Phlegon of Tralles was a freedman of the Emperor Hadrian, who, Suidas says, was the author of, among other treatises, a comprehensive historical summary (τὰ πραχθέντα πανταχοῦ) called Ὀλυμπιάδες, in sixteen books, the last ending at the 229th Olympiad, in which Hadrian's death occurred.

Eusebius reckons the *Olympiades* of Phlegon among his authorities (*Chron.* p. 195 Mai), but the full name of the work according to Photius (c. 97) was Ὀλυμπιονικῶν καὶ Χρονικῶν συναγωγή, and Stephanus of Byzantium cites it sometimes as Ὀλυμπιάδες, sometimes as Χρονικά; the latter title is also used by Origen, *c. Cels.* ii. 14. Photius states that the starting-point was the first Olympiad, and that he himself had read as far as the 177th (70 B. C.), the contents of which, fortunately, he proceeds to give. The section begins with a full list of Olympic victors resembling most closely those in 2082. The resemblance may perhaps be held to be somewhat discounted by the fact that it is shared by 222, a fragment of a list of fifth-century Olympic victors. But there is more than a possibility that 222 itself represents Phlegon; that view has had a strong supporter in C. Robert, who, in his important article in *Hermes*, liii. 141 sqq., emphasized the various points of similarity between the citation of Photius and the papyrus, and argued that the latter came from the two books of Phlegon's Ἐπιτομὴ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν. Any one adopting that hypothesis will be predisposed to see in 2082 a portion of Phlegon's larger work, and conversely the case for attributing 222 to the *Epitome* would be greatly strengthened by the acceptance of the identification of 2082 as the *Chronica*.

Returning to the excerpt of Photius, we find the list of victors followed by a *résumé* of events, subdivided, as in 2082, according to the year of the Olympiad. This *résumé* consists of a series of short sentences connected by the conjunction καί, and so differs in style from the papyrus; but this excessive baldness is due less to Phlegon than to Photius, who was clearly summarizing (the fourth sentence καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλείστα ἐν ταύτῃ ξυνηέχθη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι is significant), and is not apparent in what is, apart from the introductory account of the origin of the Olympic festival (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii, p. 603), the one verbatim extract from the *Chronica* (Syncellus, p. 324 d; Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 607), which comes from the 13th book: τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἐκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἄστερας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι. σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενόμενος τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο. Moreover, Photius describes the style of Phlegon as οὔτε λίαν χαμαιπετῆς οὔτε τὸν Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διασώζων χαρακτήρα, from which one would infer that the *Chronica* had some sort of claim to be classed as literature.

So far, then, the contents of the papyrus are just what would be expected if Phlegon were the author. There remains one question of greater difficulty, that of scale: is the space given to Lachares consistent with the identification proposed? As has been said, the *Chronica*, which covered a period of over 900 years, was comprised in no more than sixteen books, which there is no ground for supposing to have been of excessive length. Of the chronological distribution

there is but little evidence in the surviving fragments. Fr. 15 shows that the year A. D. 32-3 fell in Book 13, and Fr. 21 that the reign of Hadrian had already commenced in Book 15—if the number of the book is there correctly given. The last century or so of the *Chronica* thus accounted for three books, of which the third covered a period of no more than about twenty years. Clearly the scale increased as recent history was reached, and the freedman described the events of the reign of his patron at disproportionate length. But it is also evident from the excerpt of Photius alluded to above that the treatment of the Roman history of the first century B. C. was quite full; and if the period covered by Books 14-15 be put at eighty years, that assignable to the books immediately preceding can hardly be more than about fifty years apiece. No doubt a considerable saving of space was possible for the first three centuries of Phlegon's work, but only if they were compressed into about three books would an average of fifty years be available for the books which succeeded. These considerations might lead one to expect from Phlegon a rather more summary treatment of the Lachares incident than that found in 2082. On the other hand some allowance must be made for idiosyncrasy; possibly the writer's source gave that incident especial prominence, or it may really have had more importance than our hitherto meagre authorities have suggested.

The hypothesis that a portion of the *Chronica* is preserved in the papyrus meets with no objection on the score of its probable date. The rather small sloping hand resembles that of 1788 and the Michigan Dioscorides (*Transactions of Am. Philol. Ass.*, vol. 53, p. 142), and may be assigned, like them, to the second half of the second century.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to postulate more than a generation or so for Phlegon's work to become sufficiently well known as a useful historical compendium to be finding readers in Egypt. Punctuation is absent, pauses being denoted by appreciable blank spaces, accompanied by marginal paragraphi; the blanks are also used without paragraphi to separate the several athletic events at Olympia. In order to save space at the end of a line a final *v* is once written as a horizontal stroke above the preceding vowel (Fr. 2. 8), and *ver contra* short lines were sometimes filled by the usual sign, here curved instead of being, as is more usual, angular (e. g. Fr. 1. 2). A corrector's hand is seen at Frs. 3. 15, 4. 9, but some mistakes, to which apparently the scribe was rather prone, in the spelling of proper names have passed unnoticed.

As found the papyrus was much broken up, and though the fragments have on the whole fitted together very well (Fr. 2, for example, has been built up

<sup>1</sup> On the verso of the Dioscorides papyrus occurs a dating in the 31st year of Commodus, but from the editor's description it is not clear that this is not mere scribbling, in which case its cogency as a *terminus ante quem* is somewhat lessened.

from eleven pieces) the relative position of the larger resulting fragments is not always clear. A fixed point is given in Fr. 4, in which the 121st Olympiad is marked. What can be followed of the preceding portion of the column relates to Lachares, whose raid on the temple treasures in order to provide pay for his mercenaries is mentioned in ll. 8 sqq. The tyranny of Lachares was therefore established before the summer of 296 B. C. This date is of importance because that event has recently been brought down to the spring of 295 B. C. on the strength of C. I. A. ii. 299, which shows that a new assignment of magistracies was then made (Wilamowitz, *Antigonos*, p. 238, Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 132-3, Beloch, <sup>1</sup>iii. 2, pp. 197-8). The conclusion based on the inscription is proved to be false, and another explanation of it must be sought. I have already pointed out in connexion with 1235 (Part X, p. 83) that so late a date for the usurpation of Lachares, which Clinton referred to 299 B. C., was difficult to harmonize with the chronology of Menander's plays, and the statement of 1235 that his *Imbrians* was written in the archonship of Nicocles (302-1 B. C.) but was prevented from appearing, as intended, at the Dionysia διὰ Λαχάρην τὸν τύραννον must now be reconsidered; the suggestion of Wilamowitz, that the archonship of Nicias (296-5 B. C.) was there meant falls to the ground. That Lachares had already established his autocratic position in the spring of 301 B. C. is indeed incredible, but the phrase διὰ Λαχάρην τὸν τύραννον need not involve so much, and the political movement which culminated in his domination may have begun soon after the departure of Demetrius from Greece in the autumn of 302 B. C., though no doubt it derived its chief impetus from the defeat of the latter with Antigonos at Ipsus in the following summer<sup>1</sup> (cf. Ferguson, *Klio*, v, pp. 158 sqq., *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 123; his reasons for assigning the play in which Philippides attacked Demetrius' supporter Stratocles to the year 302-1 do not, however, seem altogether cogent). Since the statement of Pausanias (i. 25. 7) that Cassander instigated Lachares to make himself tyrant can no longer be suspected on the score of chronology,<sup>2</sup> there is no reason for discrediting the description of Lachares as προεστηκώς ἐς ἐκείνο τοῦ δήμου,<sup>3</sup> which implies that he had been prominent for some time. To this must now be added the evidence of 2082, which apparently points to an early date for the outbreak of disturbances at Athens; cf. p. 86 below.

An interesting narrative of the events leading up to the *coup d'état* of Lachares is given in Frs. 1 and 2, which probably, though not quite certainly,

<sup>1</sup> The recent attempt of F. X. Kugler to date this battle not before the spring of 300 B. C. is adversely criticized by W. W. Tarn, *Class. Rev.* 1926, pp. 13 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> It is accepted by Kahrstedt in Pauly-Wissowa, xii. 332.

<sup>3</sup> E. Meyer has rightly pointed out (*Klio*, v, p. 183<sup>1</sup>) that τοῦ δήμου does not mean the democratic party, as Ferguson takes it (*op. cit.*, pp. 159-60). Lachares was doubtless an oligarch.

belong to the same column. We here learn that it originated in a quarrel between Lachares, who was in command of a body of mercenaries, and Charias, the general of the Athenian hoplites, and hostilities began with the seizure of the Acropolis by the latter, with the support of some troops from the Piraeus. Charias was overpowered by Lachares, who gave the rank and file of his opponents a safe conduct, while their leaders, who had taken sanctuary, were put to death after a formal vote of the assembly. These details are novel and instructive. Of especial significance is the prominence of the mercenaries, through whom the power of Lachares, as of other despots, seems to have been founded and maintained (Frs. 1. 12, 4. 15). Another noteworthy feature is the part played by the Πειραιῶκοί, who, when ejected from the Acropolis, forthwith proceeded to occupy another position (? the Piraeus: Fr. 2. 14-15). According to Polyænus, iv. 7. 5, Demetrius Poliorketes, on his return to Greece after the battle of Ipsus, obtained a supply of arms from those in the Piraeus on the pretext that Lachares was their common enemy. This statement has been brought by de Sanctis (Beloch's *Studi di Storia antica*, ii. 27<sup>4</sup>; cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* <sup>1</sup>iii. 1. 225<sup>1</sup> = <sup>2</sup>iv. 1. 218<sup>1</sup>) into connexion with an inscription (C. I. A. ii. 300) which speaks of the restoration of the city to the Demos after its surrender to Demetrius, the suggested implication being that the Demos had been located elsewhere. The papyrus shows the activity of the Piraeus party at an earlier stage. We may infer that Charias and his supporters belonged to the democratic opposition, and the tyranny of Lachares thus assumes the character of a successful counterstroke to a forcible attempt of that party to regain control.

The events narrated in Frs. 1-2 presumably occurred during the 120th Olympiad, but in which year is not stated. The position of Fr. 3 here comes into consideration. In that fragment the death of Cassander is recorded, and also that of his eldest son Philip a few months later and apparently in a different year (l. 24). As to the year in which Cassander died there are differences of opinion. Dexippus *ap.* Syncellus 264 B sq. evidently computed the nineteen years of his reign from the death of Olympias, and Porphyry accordingly reckons the years of his sons from the fourth year of Ol. 120, 297-6 B. C. (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii, p. 698). Recent writers, for reasons which are not very clear, have set aside these statements. Beloch, while admitting that Cassander's death occurred at latest in 296 B. C. (<sup>1</sup>iii. 2. 64), in another place (<sup>1</sup>iii. 1. 222 = <sup>2</sup>iv. 1. 215) adopts the year 298-7, in which Stähelin (Pauly-Wissowa, x. 2312) concurs, pronouncing that the nineteen years are to be reckoned from the death of Philip Arridaeus; Kaerst (*op. cit.* iv. 2783) put it in 297, a date for which some indirect support may be found in the papyrus (n. on Fr. 3. 17-18). Unfortunately there is a lacuna at the point where the number of the year in which Cassander's eldest

son died may have occurred (l. 24; see n. *ad loc.*). But there is no reason to doubt that the year belonged to the 120th Olympiad, and that this fragment preceded Fr. 4, in which the 121st begins. Possibly Col. ii is the bottom of the column to which Frs. 1-2 have been assigned. That position would suit the mention, immediately before Cassander's *obit*, of a siege of the Piraeus, presumably by Lachares on the retirement thither of the Πειραιῶκοί and their sympathizers whom he had ejected from the Acropolis; no external support is, however, obtainable from the verso, and the possibility remains that the ends of a few lines from the first column of the fragment belong to the column represented by Frs. 1-2, in which case Col. ii intervened between it and the column largely surviving in Fr. 4. Nothing is gained, and on the contrary the statement about the siege of the Piraeus would be left unexplained, by the supposition that Fr. 3 preceded Frs. 1-2. The conclusion is, therefore, that the events described in the latter took place before the death of Cassander, and there is no reason why Lachares should not have been encouraged by him, as Pausanias states. Moreover, if the campaign mentioned in Fr. 1. 8 (see n. *ad loc.*), evidently as a quite recent event, refers to the hostilities with Cassander after the departure of Demetrius in the autumn of 302 B. C., a date near the beginning of the 120th Olympiad would be most suitable; cf. p. 85, above.

Fr. 5, containing parts of a few lines only, apparently relates to S. Italy and Sicily, and from l. 7, in which Agathocles is mentioned, the inference may be drawn that probably the year is not later than 289 B. C., the date of his death. Frs. 6+7, in which the concluding part of another list of Olympic victors occurs, are likely to belong to a rather later period, if the name of Bilistiche, the favourite of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is rightly restored in l. 6, which is hardly dubitable.

## Fr. 1.

[.] . τα κριναντας [.] ν . ξξ . [ . . .  
 [εσ]τασιασαν δε και οι των Αθη  
 [να]μων στρατηγοι ο τε επι των  
 [ο]πλων τεταγμενος Χαρίας και  
 5 [Α]χαρ[ν]ης ο [των] ξειων ηγουμε  
 [ν]ος και Χαρίας μεν [την] ακροπο  
 [λι]ν κατελαβε το μ[ε] . [ . . ] . [ν] μετα  
 [την] στρατιαν ουδ[ε] επο[ι]ησε τον  
 [δη]μον τρεφειν και . : ]τερον α[ . .  
 10 [ . ] . σ εν τωι πολεμω[ι . . ]ρος εξ[ . . .

[.] . γησεν Δαχαρ[ι]ης δε του[s]  
 [ξέ]ρους εχων εφ[.] . . . χ[ι]ροτο[ν].  
 [ . . . . ]νδ[.] . . . . .]ος εις την [  
 [ 17 letters ] των πολ[  
 15 [ 18 ,, ] οι ἰππει[s]  
 [ 22 ,, ] . [ .

## Fr. 2.

[ . . . . . ] . . . . . εἰον καταλαβ[ο]ν  
 [τας . . .]ους κατεστη[σ]εν Χαρι  
 [αν δε μετα] των Περραικων στρα  
 [τιων] εξεβαλεν και τους κα  
 5 [ταλαβου]τας μετα Χαριου την  
 [ακροπο]λιν καταγωνισαμενος  
 [υποσπο]νδους αφηκεν Χα[ρ]ι  
 [αν δε κα]ι Πειθιαν και Λυσανδρῶ  
 [τον Κα]λλιφωτος και (Α)μεινιαν  
 10 [εις τον] γαον καταφυγοντας της  
 [Αθηνη]ς εκκλησιαν ποιησαν  
 [τες τη] ψηφωι παντας απεκτει  
 [ναν . . Α]πολλοδωρου το ψηφι]σμα  
 [γραψαν]τος κατελαβ[ο]ν δε κ[α]ι >  
 15 [οι Πειρ]αϊκοι στρατιωτ[αι] . . . . .]ε  
 [ . . . . . ] των εξ αστε[ως] . . . . .] .  
 [ . . . . . ]τα [ . . . . . ]

## Fr. 3.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

11 [ 17 letters ]ατ[.] . . .  
 [ . . . ] . α[ . . . . . ] . ουν[.] . .

[ . . . ]νο . [ . ]ν . ς κα . [ . . . ]αρακ[.] . .  
 [ . . ]τους εν Πειραιει πολιορκ[ει] ?  
 δε  
 15 ετελευτησε και [Κα]σσανδρος [ο τῶ  
 Μακεδωνων βασι]λευ[s] αρρωστ[η]  
 σασ εν Πελλη]μη[νος] Αρτεμι[σι]  
 ου εμβο[λ]ιμου δε[κατη] ? φθινο[ν]  
 τος την δε βασι]λειαν παρε [  
 20 λαβε Φι]λιππος ο πρεσβ[υ]τατος [  
 των υιο[ν] οσπερ εβα]σ[ι]λευσε [  
 5 μηνas [δ(?) . . . . . ] . το Διωλλ[ος]  
 Φ[α]νοδ[.] . . . . . ] . ς χρονο [  
 [γρα]φ . [ . . . . . ]ωι ετει Φι [  
 25 [λι]ππο[s] ο βασιλευs των Μακεδ[ο]  
 ] .  
 [ν]ων [ . . . . . ] μετηλ [  
 ]ει  
 ]  
 ]α  
 ] . τα  
 5 α]κρο  
 4 or 5 lines lost

## Fr. 4.

[ . . . . . ]τ . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . ν πο . [ . ]χ[.] . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ]μος ολλεσθ[αι] . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . . μ . . [ . . . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . . ] . . σ . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . ς Δαχαρη]ν υ . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] εκ του Πειρα]ειως . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] και Δαχαρης . [ . . . . . ]  
 α[.] . . [ . . . . . ] χρυσas [ . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 10 [ . . . . . ]μπε[.] . . . ]ν κ[.] . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . ων . [ . ]ων[.] . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . ουσα . . . α . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . και το [τ]ης Αθ[η]νης ἄ  
 [γαλμα το] χρυσουν και απ[ο] του  
 15 [των τοις] ξενοις εμισθοδο[τει]

[ . . . . . ] ρκα [ 296 B. C.  
 [. . . . .]ας Μαγνης α[πο Μαι  
 [ανδρ]ου σ[τα]διον ουτο[ς] εχει Ο  
 λ[υμ]πια δι[ς] Πυ[θ]ια δι[ς] εχει δε και  
 20 Ίσ[θ]μια πε[ν]τακισ Νεμεα [επ ?  
 τακισ Απολλωνιο[ς] Αλεξ[αν]  
 δρευς διαυ[λ]ον Πα[σ]χο . [ . .  
 Βοιωτιος δο[λιχ]ον Τιμαρχ[ος]  
 Μαντινευς πενταθλον [ . . . . .]  
 25 Αμφιαρης Λακων παλην [ . . . . .]  
 Καλλιππος Ροδιος πυξ [ . . . . .]  
 Νικων Βοιωτιος παγκρατιο[ν]  
 ουτος εχει Ολυμ[π]ια δις Πυθια [ . . . . .]  
 [δι]ς Ισθμια και Νεμεα τετρακισ [ . . . . .]  
 30 [ ? Σω]σιαδης Τραλλι[αν]ος παιδων [ . . . . .]  
 [πα]λην Αντιπ[α]τρος Εφεσι  
 [ος] παιδων σταδι[ο]ν Μυρκει[ς]  
 [ ? Αρ]κας εκ Κ[α]λειτο[ριου] παιδων πυξ [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]ας Μαγνης απο Μαιανδρου [ . . . . .]  
 35 [οπλ]ει[τη]ν δις Αρχιδαμου Η [ . . . . .]  
 [λει]ου τεθριππον Πανδιο  
 [νος] Θεσσαλου κελης Τλασι  
 [μ]αχου Αμβρακιωτου συνωρις [ . . . . .]  
 [τ]ου αυτου πωλικον τεθριππο[ν]

Fr. 5. Plate IV.

[ . . . . . ]εντα[ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]πανα[ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ] . ε κα[ι] ?  
 ? οι Θ[ου]ριοι [ . . . . .]  
 5 [ησαν] χ[ω]ραν επο[ι]  
 ? πολ[λ]ους τω[ν]  
 Αγαθοκλη[ς]

[ . . . . . ]καπα[ . . . . .]  
 ]τακος ετη[ . . . . .]  
 10 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]σ[ . . . . .]

Fr. 6+7. Plate IV.

[ . . . . . ]νι[ . . . . . ]α . . . [ . . . . . ]ου [ . . . . .]  
 [οπλειτην] ] Καρτερου Θεσσαλου  
 [απο . . . . . ]ς τεθριππον Μ[ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ] Κρανωνιου κελη[ς]  
 5 [ . . . . . ] Θεσσαλου συνωρις  
 [Βιλιστιχης Μ]ακετιδος πωλικ[ο]ν  
 [τεθριππον] ] αυτη Πτολεμα[ιου]  
 [Φιλαδελφου ετ]αι[ρ]α εστιν [ . . . . .]  
 [ ? τωι πρωτωι ε]πει Ρωμαιοι . . . . .  
 10 [ . . . . . ]επο]λεμουν α[ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]ημον τον [ . . . . .]

Fr. 8.

Fr. 9.

Fr. 10.

Fr. 11.

[ . . . . . ]εισ[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] λπ . . . [ . . . . .]
[ . . . . . ]γους . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ]τεν λ[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ]ου . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] ] ιματιον τ[ . . . . .]
[ . . . . . ]νταστ[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ]λαδ[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . γοδ[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . . . . .
[ . . . . . ]των . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] Ποινι[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . υο . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . . . . .
5 [ . . . . . ]φο[ . . . . .]	5 [ . . . . . ]ερωμ[ . . . . .]	5 [ . . . . . ]ετα[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . .]
[ . . . . . ] . . . . .	[ . . . . . ] . σιτ[ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . .]	[ . . . . . ] . . . . .

Frs. 1. 1. Not [κ]ατα or [μ]ετα. κριν. seems a preferable reading to κλιν.

2-9. 'There was a quarrel between the Athenian generals Charias, who was in command of the hoplites, and Lachares the leader of the mercenaries. Charias seized the

acropolis after the campaign and did not cause the people to be fed . . . ; and Lachares with the mercenaries . . .

2. [εσ]τασιασαν: cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 33 αὐτὸς δὲ (sc. Δημήτριος) πυθόμενος Λαχάρη στασιάσουσιν Ἀθηναίους ἐπιθέμενον τυραννεῖν.

5. Λαχαρ{ν}ης: the same misspelling is indicated by the space in l. 11; on the other hand the name is correctly written in the two places in which it occurs in Fr. 4 (ll. 6 and 8).

7. There was perhaps a cancelled dittography of μετα την: there is no sign of the μ (for which a ν might be read) having been crossed through, as the ε probably and the final ν certainly were, but since the letter is incompletely preserved a mark of deletion may have disappeared. Possibly κατελάβετο should be written, but cf. Fr. 2. 4, 14 and e. g. Thuc. i. 126.

8-10. στρατιαν . . . τωι πολεμωι: it seems likely that hostilities against Cassander in the interval between the departure of Demetrius to Asia Minor and the battle of Ipsus are here referred to; cf. Pausan. i. 26. 3, x. 18. 7, Stähelin, Pauly-Wissowa, x. 2310. Subsequently there was, apparently, a period of peace; for the pacifist policy adopted in 301 B.C. cf. Ferguson, *Hellen. Athens*, pp. 126-7.

9. ?προ]τερον or υσ]τερον. α[ or δ[ is likely at the end of the line.

11. The letter before γ was probably ο, ρ, or ω.

14. E. g. πολ[λῶν, πολ[λῆτων.

Fr. 2. 1. β[ο]ν is very uncertain; perhaps . [.] > should be read.

2-15. . . and he ejected Charias together with the soldiers from the Piraeus; and having defeated those who had joined Charias in seizing the acropolis he released them under truce, but Charias, Pithias, Lysander son of Calliphon, and Aminias, who had taken refuge in the temple of Athene, were all put to death after an assembly had been held and a vote taken, the mover of the motion being Apollodorus. The soldiers from the Piraeus seized . . .

3. 1. Πειραικῶν.

7. [υποσπο]νδους αφηκεν: cf. e. g. Diodor. xx. 110. 6, 111. 3.

9. Αμεινίας, which is a fairly common Athenian name, is an easy correction of Μεινίας, which does not occur. A mistake for Μειδίας seems less likely.

12. The persons mentioned by Pausan. i. 29. 10 as having been killed ἐπιθεμένοις τυραννοῦντι Λαχάρει are not to be identified with the foregoing, unless τυραννοῦντι was an inaccuracy.

13. Four letters would not fill the lacuna, though the sentence requires nothing further; possibly δε Α]πολλ.

14. For δε κ]αι cf. Fr. 1. 2, Fr. 3. 15; but the reading, including the supplementary sign, is very uncertain.

15-17. τον Πει]ραια μετα] των εξ αστειως [των φρο]νοντων τα τοιαν]τα would give a suitable sense, but involves an overlong initial supplement in l. 16, unless the beginning of that line was advanced rather sharply to the left. A short space after ]ρα in l. 17 suggests that the sentence ended there.

Fr. 3. 5. α]κρο[πολις in some form is one of numerous possibilities.

13. γε]νομ[ε]νος και might be read.

14. Cf. int., p. 87.

17-18. εν Πελλη]ι κτλ.: these are new facts. In l. 18 δ[εκατη] is preferred to δευτεραι] as slightly the shorter. The occurrence of Artemisius as the intercalary month may add point to the story of Plut. *Alex.* 16, that Alexander, on the eve of the battle of Granicus, overcame superstitious objections to fighting in Daisius by ordering a repetition of Artemisius;

such a device would appear far less arbitrary if Artemisius was then the regular intercalary month in the Macedonian calendar. If so, however, a change was made not long afterwards in Egypt, where under Philadelphus at any rate there was a biennial repetition of the month Peritius; cf. Edgar, *Annales du Service des Antiq. de l'Égypte*, xvii. 219, xix. 93.

On the supposition (a) that Plutarch's story is true, and (b) that the biennial intercalation of a month was normal in the Macedonian calendar, the death of Cassander should fall in an odd year, since the battle of Granicus was 334 B.C., and there would be no point in the story about Alexander unless Artemisius was duplicated out of the ordinary course. 297 B.C. would thus seem to be indicated as the date of Cassander's death (cf. int., p. 86); and the season was the summer if a new year is marked in l. 24 below (see n.); but the foundations of this argument are by no means secure.

22. μηνας [δ: this number is found in the list of Thessalian kings in Euseb. *Chron. Armen.*, pp. 180 sqq. Mai (Müller, *F. H. G.* iii, pp. 703-4), who gives figures and is commonly accepted; other authorities lump together the reigns of Cassander's sons. A very short reign for Philip is implied by Justin's phrase (xvi. 1. 1) *post Cassandri regis filiiue eius Philippi continuas mortes*. If 4 was the number in the papyrus, it must have been written as a figure.

22-4. This sentence can be interpreted either as a citation of Diyllus as the authority for the length of Philip's reign (e. g. *καθα διγηγησ]ατο Δ. Φ. ακρειβ]ης χρονο[γρα]φο[εων]*) or as a literary note of the termination of Diyllus' history, analogous to Diod. xxi. 5 *ὅτι Δίλλος Ἀθηναῖος συγγραφεὺς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις συντάξας ἔγραψε βιβλία εἴκοσιν ἕξ. Ψάων δὲ ὁ Πλαταιεὺς τὰς ἀπὸ τούτου διαδεξάμενος πράξεις ἔγραψε βιβλία τριάκοντα*. The latter alternative seems the more likely, partly on account of the paragraphus below l. 22, but especially in view of another passage of Diodorus (xvi. 76. 6), *Δίλλος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῆς δευτέρας συντάξεως ἀρχὴν πεποιήται τῆς Ἐφόρου ἱστορίας τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς πράξεις συνεῖρει . . . μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς*. Since nothing is known of a σύνταξις subsequent to the second, it was argued by A. Schaefer (*Hist. Ztschr.* xviii. 173) that *Φιλίππου* there meant the son of Cassander, a suggestion accepted by e. g. Beloch (*iv.* 2. 105) and Schwartz (Pauly-Wissowa, v. 1247). That in the papyrus the reference to Diyllus follows the mention of the accession of Philip instead of his death is not a serious matter, as the two events were so close together. With regard to readings, in l. 22 ι and υ seem unsuitable before το: the slight vestiges rather suggest ε or σ, but α is not excluded; in l. 23 the broken letter before σ was rounded like ο or ω, but ι or η, which are sometimes curved at the top, is also possible; and in l. 24 after φ, which though damaged is almost certain, ο or ω rather than ι is suggested: *και επαυσ]ατο Δ. Φ[α]νοδ[ . . . ο Αθηνα]ιος χρονο[γρα]φο[ε]ν, or perhaps . . . τ]ης χρονο[γρα]φ[ι]ας, would suit. The name of the father of Diyllus was unknown: either Φ[α]νοδ[ημου or Φ[α]νοδ[ικου may be restored.*

24. Probably a new year began at this point, otherwise the separation of the death of Philip from the sentence recording his accession and the length of his reign is awkward, particularly if the intervening words, as suggested in the previous note, refer to the termination of the history of Diyllus. Hence e. g. *τωι τεταρτ]ωι* is preferable to *εν δε τωι αυτ]ωι*. Cf. Frs. 6 + 7. 9, and Phlegon, Fr. 12 (Müller, *F. H. G.* iii. 606) *και . . . τῷ τρίτῳ αὐτῆς ἔτει . . . τῷ δὲ τεταρτῷ ἔτει κτλ.*, Fr. 15 *τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος*. At first sight part of the cross-bar of τ before ωι appears to be preserved, but this is due to a dark fibre in the papyrus.

26. Perhaps [εν Ελατειαι, as stated by Dexippus *ap.* Syncellus, pp. 264 b sqq.; cf. l. 17 *εν Πελλη]ι*. Some ink on the edge of the papyrus after the gap points to an insertion above the line, and e. g. ]ω or ]ι might be read; possibly *νοσ]ω* or *νοσω]ι* was added, or merely an omitted iota adscript interlined. The enlarged form of the λ of *μετηλ]λαξε* shows that the line ended with that letter.



Fr. 4. 3. L. ολλυσθ[αι] ορ ολεσθ[αι]?

9-15. Cf. Pausan. i. 25. ἡ ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτούς. ἄτε δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθέλων χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνῶν τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον ἰπωπτέετο εἰπορέιν μεγάλως χρημάτων, Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 71 d Ἀθηνῶν Λαχάρης ἐξέδυσσε. Very likely χρυσᾶς in l. 9 refers to the ἀσπίδες mentioned by Pausanias, but it is useless to attempt to restore so mutilated a passage, which has moreover undergone alteration. Whether the interlineation is due to the original scribe or not cannot be determined; since that in Fr. 3. 15 is a subsequent addition, this one too has been so treated. Köhler, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898, p. 15<sup>1</sup>, opines that the story of the robbing of the statue of Athene is probably based on a misreading, but as Beloch observes (*Gr. Gesch.* 2iv. 1, p. 218<sup>1</sup>) the line of Demetrius γυμνῆν Ἀθηνῶν τὸτ' ἐποίησε Λαχάρης (Koch, iii. 357) rather loses its point if taken metaphorically; at any rate Köhler's 'probably' is an evident overstatement.

17-18. Cf. ll. 34-5, n.

18-21. For this record of other victories cf. ll. 28-9.

22. Πασ[ι]χορ[ος] might serve, but that name does not occur, and ι barely fills the lacuna. Πασ[ι] is more suitable than Πλε[ι].

27. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθηδῶν, ἀνηγορεύθη Νίκων παγκρατιστῆς Ἀθηδῶνιος, Eustath. *Il.*, p. 271. 33.

32. Μυρκε[ι]ς: not in Pape's *Griech. Eigennamen*.

33. Some emendation is evidently required and the reading adopted in the text seems sufficiently satisfactory.

34-5. Cf. ll. 17-18 and 222. i. 30 [. . .]γίας Επιδαμνιος σπλειτ(ην) δις, where Blass's suggestion that δις meant a second victory on the same occasion and the identification of [. . .]γίας Επιδαμνιος with [. . .]γης Επιδαυριος, the winner of the δίαυλον, are confirmed; cf. also Phlegon, Fr. 12 (Müller *l. c.*) Ἐκατόμνος Μιλήσιος στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ὀπλίτην, τρίς. There was apparently some discrepancy between l. 17 and l. 34 as to the length of the name, possibly owing to a misspelling.

35-6. Cf. Pausan. vi. 17. 5 δύο δὲ αὐθις ἐξ Ἡλιδος, Ἀρχίδαμος τεθρίππω νευικηκῶς, κτλ.

38-9. These two races were instituted in the 93rd and 99th Olympiads respectively, according to Pausan. v. 8. 10. For τοῦ αὐτοῦ cf. Phlegon, Fr. 12 (Müller, *l. c.*), where also in the case of a victory by the same person in consecutive events τοῦ αὐτοῦ is used, and 222. 34.

Fr. 5. 5-6. E. g. [εἰσβολὴν εἰς τὴν χ]ωραν ἐπο[ι]ήσαντο.

9. It is tempting to suppose that this line refers either to the accession or the death of Spartacus, son of Eumelus; cf. Diod. xx. 100. ἡ ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις (304-3 B. C.) Εὐμηλος μὲν ὁ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων ἔκτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτησε, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Σπάρτακος ὁ υἱὸς ἤρξεν ἔτη ἑκοσιν. If, however, Agathocles in l. 7 is the famous ruler of Sicily, the date should be not later than 289 B. C., when he died; and on the other hand a mention of the accession of Spartacus would be expected to be accompanied by a reference to the death of his father, as in the passage cited from Diodorus, and for this there seems to be scanty room. Moreover, in Diodorus, the year concerned is the first of an Olympiad, whereas here it seems to be the last; cf. l. 10, n.

10. The blank space between l. 9 and l. 11, represented by the top of a rounded letter, probably ε or σ, on the edge of the papyrus, presumably contained the number of an Olympiad, as in Fr. 4. 16.

Frs. 6+7. That these two fragments are closely connected is clear from the correspondence of fibres of the verso, and though the edges are too much broken for certainty, the supposition that there was no gap between them below l. 8 suits both the external and internal evidence.

1. Perhaps ]ν[ος] απο . [. . .]ου, but the vestiges after α are very slight.

6. It was known from Pausan. v. 8. 11 that Bilistiche won the παλική σπρωρίς in the year of the institution of that event, Ol. 128, 268 B. C. If Fr. 7 is rightly placed (see above), the παλική σπρωρίς is here absent, and the victory in the παλικόν τέθριππον, if Bilistiche won it, therefore occurred on an earlier occasion. On Bilistiche, whose name is variously spelled (Βελε-, Βελι- Βλι-), cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, i. 185; the form Βιλιστίχη is supported by the contemporary P. Cairo Edgar 59289. 3.

8. The vestiges of ετ[α]ρ]α are very slight and ambiguous. εστιν does not imply a contemporary writer.

11. Probably δ]ημον or -δ]ημον, e. g. Μενεδ]ημον, the tyrant of Croton mentioned by Diodor. xix. 10. 3, xxi. 4.

Fr. 8. There is some similarity between the verso of this small piece and that of the top left side of Fr. 3. 11, and it might even be so placed that φο in l. 5 immediately follows ] . α in l. 12 there; but there is no direct junction of edges, and the fragment might well go higher up, if indeed it belongs to that column at all.

Frs. 9-11. It is not quite certain that these fragments belong to 2082, though their lettering is very similar. Ποινιν[ in Fr. 9. 4 may mean the Pennine Alps; cf. Strabo 205 τοῦ Ποινίν]ου λεγομένου.

#### 2083. LIFE OF AESOP.

15.2 x 10.9 cm.

Late fourth or fifth century.

A leaf from a papyrus book, containing a fragment of what is obviously a legendary life of Aesop. The inner portion is defective, but the length of the lines can be fixed with probability, and the breadth of the page when intact may consequently be estimated at about 17 or 18 cm. The hand, which is somewhat above medium size, is a late and inelegant variety of the sloping oval type. The extremities of the cross-bar of τ are commonly thickened, and this is a prominent letter at the beginnings of lines; the tail of υ is sometimes curved slightly to the left and carried well below the line; ω is noticeably small. A rough breathing has been twice inserted by the original hand. Pauses within a line are usually indicated by short blank spaces, but the high and, apparently, the low stop was also sometimes used (ll. 13, 67). The date suggested is the latter part of the fourth or the fifth century, a period with which the brown colour of the ink is also in keeping.

The life of Aesop is extant in two versions, one commonly attributed to M. Planudes (ed. Eberhard, *Fab. rom.* i, pp. 226 sqq.), the other, which is longer and probably older (cf. Marc, *Byz. Zeitschr.* xix, pp. 383 sqq.), being anonymous (ed. Westermann, *Vita Aesopi*, 1845). Recently remains of yet another version—or other versions—have come to light in papyri. A fragment obtained in Cairo by Golenischev and now in Moscow was partially published by H. Weil in *Rev.*

*de Philol.* 1885, pp. 19 sqq., and has since been edited completely by Zereteli in *Sammlung von Aufsätzen W. Lamansky*, i, pp. 41 sqq., and more recently in P. Ross.-Georg. 18, where it is ascribed to the seventh century. A second smaller piece printed in P. S. I. 168 and doubtfully dated in the fourth century was identified by Crusius and re-edited by P. Collart in *Rev. de Philol.* 1919, pp. 38 sqq.<sup>1</sup> These two papyri show a text differing from, but closely connected with, that of Westermann (= W.); it is rather longer, sometimes including elements absent from W., to which, on the other hand, its phraseology is often strikingly close. Similar characteristics are observable in 2083, and it is natural to regard all three papyri, which are not far apart in date, as representing the same version, a text which was current in Egypt in the early Byzantine period and from which W., a slightly compressed and in some respects inferior redaction, was perhaps descended. In order to facilitate comparison the corresponding portion of the latter is printed below side by side with the copy of the new papyrus. The length of the lacunae has been estimated on the basis of, more especially, ll. 16, 26, 28, 31, 41, where the supplements seem practically assured.

## Recto.

## W. pp. 30-1.

[ about 26 letters ] . ηση  
 [ " " " ] ιτα αυτις  
 [ " " " ] α ουτε  
 [ " 24 " ] φαγειν ο Αι  
 5 [σωπος εν εαυτω ουτος] απ[ε]ριεργος ειναι μοι  
 [δοκει . . . . . α]υτος [πρ]οσελευσομαι  
 [. . . . . προσελθ]ων δε α]υτω πατερ ιω  
 [δε ο χωρικος χαιρ]ε αντησπασατο Αι  
 [σωπος . . . . . φησι]ν ποσου τα ξυλα δω  
 10 [δεκα εφη ασσαριων] Αισωπος ως και αληθης  
 [μου ο λογισμος (?) ει] τοσουτου τετιμηται  
 [. . . . . Ξανθ]ον οιδας τον φιλοσοφω  
 [ου τεκνον εφη δια] τι ουκ ειμι περι  
 [εργος Αισωπος αγα]θα σοι γενοιτο εκει  
 15 [νου δουλός ειμι τι τ]ουτο γαρ αν εγω σε εξη  
 [ρωτησα ποτερον δ]ουλο[ς] ει η ελευθερος

μή τις ασθένεια επιδρά-  
 μη ή αιφνιδιος γένηται  
 χειμών." ό δε Αϊσωπος έν  
 έαυτῶ "τί ταύτα; όναρίφ  
 διαλέγεται. τίς μάλλον  
 άπερίεργός έστιν; άσπά-  
 σομαι αυτόν. χαιρε." άντή-  
 σπασατο "χαιρε" είπών.  
 Αϊσωπος φησι "πόσου τά  
 ξυλάρια;" ό χωρικός έφη  
 "δώδεκα άσσαρίων". Αϊ-  
 σωπος έφη "Ξάνθον οιδας  
 τόν φιλόσοφον;" ό δε φησιν  
 "ού, τέκνον". Αϊσωπος "διά  
 τί;" ό ξένος έφη "έγώ άγροι-  
 κός ειμι, ούδένα έπιστα-

[αλλ ουκ ειμι π]ε[ρ]ε[ρ]γο[ς] νη τους θεους  
 [ει μηπω π]ε[ρ]αται σου τα ξυλα ελασον  
 [μοι εις την] οικιαν Ξανθου το οναριον  
 20 [ο ξενος εφη (?)] αλλα τη οικιαν ουκ οίδα  
 [ο δε Αισωπο]ς οιδας τα του φιλοσοφου  
 [ουκ οίδα ου] γαρ ειμι π[ρ]ολυπραγμων  
 [αλλ ακολουθ]ει μοι πατερ ηγαγεν αυ  
 [τον λαβων δε] τα ξυλα εδωκεν αυτω  
 25 [το τιμημα] και φησιν αυτω πατερ  
 [ο δεσποτης] μου ερωτα σε διπνη[[ο]]αι ι  
 [δου? τα νυν κ]αταλιπε εις το μεσαυλιον  
 [το οναριον κ]αι τευξεται επιμελειας .  
 [συ δε εισω κ]ατακλιθητι ό δε θελων  
 30 [λαβειν το] διπνον ουτε περιεργα  
 [σαμενος εκ] ποιας αιτια[ς] καλειται  
 [ουτ ουν ει αυ]τος καλειτ[αι] εισηλθεν  
 [ουτως συν] τω πληω και τοις υπο  
 [δημασιν ον ι]δων ο Ξανθ[ος] λεγει Αι  
 35 [σωπε εισηλθ]ε τις

## Verso.

απε[ριεργος] ? επει ηθε  
 λε τ[ον] Αισωπον μαστιγωθηναι?  
 κυρι[α]  
 ειπε[ ] συ  
 40 ουν ανα[στασα και λεκανην πληρωσασα  
 προσενεγκο]ν ως νιψουσα αυτου τους πο  
 δας απο τ[ης] αξιας [ 15 letters  
 δεσποινα [. ]ειου[ ] " "  
 αυτη δουλός ουν [ων ευλαβηθεις περι  
 45 εργος εξ αναγκης] φανησεσθαι δοκει  
 η δε θελουσα τω Α[ισωπω] κακα γενεσθαι  
 αμα δε και μισουσα [αυτον υπεκριθη και  
 ζωσαμενη λεντιοι]ς και λεκανην βαλον

μαι". Αϊσωπος "έκείνου"  
 φησι "δούλος είμι". ό ξένος  
 έφη "και τί ήρώτησα πότε-  
 ρον δούλος εί ή έλεύθε-  
 ρος; έμοι τί διαφέρει;  
 Αϊσωπος έφη "άγαθά σοι  
 γένοιτο, ακολουθεί μοι,  
 κάγώ σοι δώσω τὸ άργύ-  
 ριον μετά και άρίστου".  
 άγαγών δ' αυτόν εις τήν  
 οικίαν καθείλε τὰ ξυλάρια  
 δεδωκώς τὸ τιμημα και  
 φησιν "ό δεσπότης μου έρω-  
 τῆ έπ' αυτόν άριστήσαι".  
 ό δε άγροικος ού περιερ-  
 γασάμενος έπί ποίαν αι-  
 τίαν καλείται, εισελθών  
 σὺν τῶ πληῶ και τοίς υπο-  
 δήμασιν ούτως άνέπεσεν.  
 ό δε Ξάνθος έφη "τίς ούτος;

Αϊσωπος έφη "άνθρωπος  
 άπερίεργος". ιδών δε αυ-  
 τόν εκείνος άγροικον έν-  
 τα λέγει τῇ γυναικί "κυ-  
 ρία, υποκρίθητί μοι ίνα δα-  
 μάσω τόν Αϊσ. σὺ δε άνα-  
 στασα και ύδωρ εις λεκά-  
 νην βαλουσα πρόσφερε τῶ  
 ξένῳ ως νίψουσα αυτόν  
 τοὺς πόδας. ίσως εύλαβη-  
 θεις φανῆ περιεργος και  
 Αϊσ. δαρήσεται". ή δε θέ-  
 λουσα μαστιγωθηναι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Collart mistakenly supposes that Zereteli's papyrus was distinct from that edited by Weil. Schubart's notice in his *Einführung*, p. 473, is also confused.

σα κατα του ωμου προσεφερε ως νιψουσα  
 50 τω αγροικω ο ξενος ουν ιδων και γνωρι-  
 σας οτι η δεσποινα [εστιν καθ εαυτον  
 εφη Ξανθου εστιν [η γυνη ουκ ηθελησε  
 Ξανθος μου τους ποδας υ[πο τινος παιδα  
 ριου η δουλου πλυθηναι [αλλα παντως  
 55 αυτος μοι τειμην παρα[σχων την γυ-  
 ναικα ηναγκασεν νιψαι [αλλα τουτο ου  
 καταγγελλω περιεργον [εστι και προτει-  
 νας τους ποδας φησι νιψον και νιψα-  
 μενος αναπιπτει ο Ξανθος ειπεν δο  
 60 θητω τω ξενω πρωτω πι[ειν ακουσας δε  
 ο απεριεργος παλιν προς ει[τον ειπε τους  
 δεσποτας πρωτους εδ[ει πιειν ει δε μοι  
 τιμην παρεσχεν ουδ[εν βουλομαι πε-  
 ριεργαζεσθαι λαβων επιεν και ειπεν  
 65 ακρωσ νη τους θεους [μετα δε τουτο  
 εισηνεχθη λοπας ιχ[θυων ο δε Ξανθος  
 ειπεν τω [ξ]ενω. πρω[τος φαγε ο δε  
 τους ιχθυ[α]ς ως δελφ[ος παρελαμβα-  
 νε ο δ[ε] Ξανθος γε[υσασαμενος αυτω  
 70 και θελων εκκαλεσα[ι τον μαγειρον

Αἴσ. ὑπεκρίθη καὶ λαβοῦσα  
 λέντιον προσέφερε τῷ ξέ-  
 νῳ τὴν λεκάνην. ὁ δὲ θεα-  
 σάμενος καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι ἐστὶν  
 ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα, φησὶ καθ'  
 ἑαυτὸν "πάντως τιμῆσαι με  
 θέλει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτο-  
 χείρως μου νίπτει τοὺς  
 πόδας". φησὶ "νίψον κυρία",  
 καὶ νιψάμενος ἀνέπεσεν.  
 ὁ δὲ Ξ. φησὶ "δοθήτω  
 τῷ ξένῳ πρῶτον οἶνόμελι".  
 ὁ δὲ ξένος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν  
 "αὐτοὺς μὲν ἔδει πρῶτον  
 πιεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ-  
 τως δοκεῖ, οὐ περιεργάσο-  
 μαι", καὶ λαβὼν ἐπιεν. ἀρι-  
 στάντων δὲ αὐτῶν παρετί-  
 θει ἰχθύς. ὁ δὲ Ξ. τῷ ξένῳ  
 λέγει "φάγε". ὁ δὲ ὡς ἀδελ-  
 φὸς ἦσθιε τοὺς ἰχθύας. ὁ δὲ  
 Ξ. ἐπαφορμιζόμενος ἔφη τῷ  
 μαγείρῳ "διὰ τί κακῶς  
 ἤρτυσας";

1-4. In Westermann's text the sentence begins ὁ δὲ χωρικὸς τῷ ὄναρτι φησὶ "περιπίπτει, ὅπως ταχέως φθάσωμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παραθῶσι τὰ ξυλάρια ἄσσαριων δώδεκα, καὶ ἔξῃς σοι δύο εἰς χόρτον καὶ κριθήν, καὶ δύο εἰς ἐμαυτόν, τὰ δὲ ἄκτῳ τηρήσωμεν εἰς ἑτέρας τύχας, μή τις ἀσθένεια" κτλ. The papyrus appears to have diverged considerably. In l. 2 the stroke before τα is too vertical for ν and better suits ι or υ.

7. On the basis of the other supplements the space is insufficient for και ασπασομαι before προσελθ[ων]. After α]νω something like εφη χαιρε seems to have dropped out.

14. ἀγαθά σοι γένοιτο occurs rather later in W.

15. τι τ]ουτο: or perhaps ου τ]ουτο. In W. either καί τι or ἠρώτησα ἄν may be desiderated.

20. l. την.

26. ερωτα σε διπνησαι: the usual formula in invitations of the earlier Roman period; cf. e. g. 1484-5. The letter originally written after η, either ο or perhaps a badly formed σ, has been crossed through and replaced by an interlinear σ. There has also been an

alteration after the α, of which the diagonal stroke passes through the first ι so as to join the top of the second. Either therefore the first ι was inserted after the second was written, or possibly the second was added farther to the right in order to fill up the line and intended to cancel the first; in the latter case [μετ αυτου may be restored at the beginning of l. 27.

30. The first ε of περιεργα has been converted from ρ.

35-9. The latter part of l. 35 has been left blank for no evident reason, and this fact makes reconstruction of the following lines more precarious. Perhaps there was a defect in the archetype, in which case απε[ριεργος would be more likely at the beginning of l. 36 than e. g. απε[κρινατο. For the supplement suggested in l. 37 cf. W. opposite l. 48; but λερο might also be εβου[λετο. At the end of the line καλεσας τη(ν) | κυρια[ν may be restored, if Xanthus is taken to be the subject of ειπε (? ειπε[ν αυτη) in l. 39. Perhaps, however, κυρι[α is vocative as in W., and room should be found for λεγει τη γυναικι αυτον in l. 37 by the transference of μαστιγωθηναι or something similar to the previous line. Lines 38-9 may then have run e. g. κυρι[α θελεις υποκριθεσθαι μοι η δε | ειπε [. . . ο δε φησι συ κτλ.

42-4. These lines appear to state, what in W. is left to be understood, that the mistress of the house would not be expected to perform such duties. [επ]ει ου perhaps stood in l. 43. ν of ουν in l. 44 is represented only by the first vertical stroke, which would be equally consistent with e. g. κ.

54. πλυθηναι: cf. Meineke, *Com. Fr.* iv, p. 647 πλυθήσομαι.

58. Most of the ink of the ι of φησι has apparently scaled off, so that what remains looks very like a mark of elision; but ι was probably there originally.

61. ο seems to have been added after απεριεργος was written.

67. That the mark after [ξ]ενω was intended for a low stop is hardly certain.

68. l. αδελφ[ος.

## 2084. ENCOMIUM ON THE FIG.

17.1 x 31.5 cm.

Third century.

As stated in the title prefixed to the text and repeated at the end, this well-preserved short piece is a panegyric on the fig, written, it seems, on the occasion of a festival in honour of Hermes (ll. 23-7), with whom the fig was especially associated (ll. 1-6). Though of very slight literary merit, it possesses some interest as representing an unfamiliar type of rhetorical composition. Several examples have occurred among the papyri of panegyrics in verse, e. g. 1015; but the present seems to be the first instance from that source of the prose encomium. 1015 happens to have come from the same find as 2084, and to resemble it not only in having a duplicated title but also in being closely associated with Hermes. Possibly the two were designed for the same occasion; their scripts, however, though of about the same period, differ widely in character, 2084 being in a mainly upright and comparatively uncultivated hand. Contiguous consonants are sometimes separated by a comma-like sign; a stop in the middle position is used. The title at the end is enclosed in an elaborate rectangular border measuring 6.5 x 11.8 cm.

Col. i (opposite ll. 9-10).

<sup>χ</sup>  
ἰσαδος  
εὐκωμιον

Col. ii.

ἰσαδα την Ἑρμον  
προσφιλεστατην  
5 τροφην τε και τρυ  
φην και της πανη  
γυρεως το αγλαισμα  
[κ]αγω εις τ[ο]ν θεον  
[ε]νσεβων ὑμνησω  
10 τημερον· κα[ι] ὑπο  
αυτης εστιωμενος  
λογω αμειψομαι κα  
τ' ἰσαδα· μελιτος  
μεν ουσαν α[δε]λφη[ν].  
15 ευδαιμωνων δε ανθρω  
πων τρυφη[ν] τω]ν θεων  
δε θυσιαις απα[ρ]χηνη Διο  
νυσου δε των β[ι]οσ]τρ[υ]χ]ιω]ν  
πλοκην εις στεφανου πε  
20 ριβολην· αλλα τι γαρ λο[γ]ω  
ἰσαδα τιμω και ουχι [τ]οις  
εργοις δικν[υ]ω· οτι ισχ[α]ς  
σημερον ημας ουκ αναγκη  
συνηγαγεν· αλλα ασμενωσ  
25 χορευειν Ἑρμη πεποιηκεν.

Col. iii.

και [τ]ην εροτην αυτ[ο]ν  
ευωχισθαι δια γλυ  
κυτατης ισχαδος·  
και δη εισκαλεισθω  
30 ἰσχας θατ'τον ημειν  
ἵνα και ημεις Νεστο  
ρος ουχ ητ'τον φη  
νην εντυχησωμεν  
μελιτος κλυκυτεραν  
35 κερασαντες ι[σ]χαδ[α]  
το μελιδι

Col. iv.

ισχαδος  
ενκωμιον

'Encomium on the fig. Of the fig, the favourite food and delicacy of Hermes, the ornament of the festival, I too reverencing the god will sing to-day, and feasted by it will respond concerning the fig, sister to honey, delicacy of fortunate men, firstfruit at sacrifices to the gods, entwined with the tendrils of Dionysus to make a circling chaplet. But why do I honour the fig in words instead of showing in fact that the fig has brought us together to-day not by compulsion but has made us willingly dance to Hermes and celebrate his

festival by means of the luscious fig. Let now the fig be summoned for us speedily in order that we too may be successful in (?) voice no less than Nestor, mixing with honey the fig which is sweeter than honey. Encomium on the fig.'

3-5. For Hermes and the fig cf. the proverb σῦκον ἐφ' Ἑρμῆ, which is explained e. g. by Zenob. v. 92 as παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκκειμένων ἐπ' ἀφελείᾳ τοῖς βουλομένοις. εἴ ποτε γὰρ φανείη σῦκον, τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμῆ ἀνατιθέασι, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀνελάμβανον.

16. It is hardly necessary to emend τρυφη[ν] to τροφη[ν]: cf. l. 5.

22. A diaeresis may be lost above the ι of ισχ. both here and in l. 28; but it was not written in l. 37.

23. νκ of αναγκη corr.

26. εροτην may be a mere slip of the pen for εορτην, but ἐροτήν is found in the MS. of Hesychius, and ἔροτις, which occurs in Eurip. *El.* 625, is said to be an Aeolic form by Eust. 1908. 57.

33. εὐτυχήσωμεν was apparently meant. The allusion is to Homer *A* 247-9 Νέστωρ ἠδυεπέης . . . τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδῆ.

34. l. γλυκ.

36. l. τῷ μέλιτι. The coronis marks the conclusion of the piece.

## 2085. SCHOLIA ON EUPHORION (?).

Fr. 1 17.3 × 6.3 cm.

Early second century.

The following fragments, coming evidently from a commentary, are written in a medium-sized, upright hand which seems likely to belong to the earlier decades of the second century. α, which is usually angular, is sometimes, both at the beginnings of lines and elsewhere, rather enlarged and given a loop in the left corner. Abbreviation is occasionally resorted to (Frs. 1. 31, 3. 16). Paragraphi, often accompanied by short blank spaces in the text, are used for purposes of punctuation, and stops in the high position also occur here and there; that these were inserted by the corrector whose hand is distinguishable at Fr. 1. 33, is possible but not evident. For some other symbols of uncertain significance see Fr. 3. 27, n. Lemmata are given prominence by being made to protrude slightly into the left margin, as e. g. in 853 (cf. 2086), but this practice was not consistently followed if Fr. 3. 21 is rightly regarded as the beginning of a citation.

Unfortunately none of the lemmata are complete, and though they are obviously in verse, whether the metre is elegiac or pure hexameter is questionable. As for the poet, from Fr. 1. 36 it can be inferred that he was not earlier than Alexander Aetolus, and a more precise indication of his identity seems to be afforded by the words ἐν ταῖς Χελιδά[σιν] ἐρηκ[εν] in Fr. 1. 28. These *Χελιδες* are no doubt the well-known poem of Euphorion, whose name, however, is not added, nor is a place for it easily found in the immediate context. The natural

explanation of this anonymous mode of citation is that Euphorion was also the author of the work to which the whole commentary was devoted; and conversely Callimachus, who is cited by name immediately afterwards, is not to be considered. That at any rate is a working hypothesis which, if otherwise unconfirmed, harmonizes well enough with the rest of the data. Fr. 1. i relates to Combe or Chalcis, in whom a native of Euboea might be expected to take a special interest; another reference to Euboea is probable in l. 29. Samos, the various names of which are discussed in Fr. 3, is referred to in Euphor. Frs. 25 (from a *ὑπόμνημα*), 122-3, Meineke. The unknown form *Ἰνείον* (? Fr. 1. 15) and the arbitrary treatment of legend noted in Fr. 1. 32-5 (cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. d. Gr. Lit.* i, p. 394) would be quite in Euphorion's manner.

## Fr. 1.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

		[. .]σ[. .]. [ . . . . . ] κα
		λυπτεον τα[. . . . .]
	10	πρεσβυτιδ[. . . . .]
		δωδεκιδ[. . . . .] α
		πλωσ μηδεμα ων [. . . . .]
		[. .]ωι . υβαιτα ε . . [. . . . .]
		[θα]λασσης εφη οτι [. . . . .]
	15	νον Ἰνείον τουν[ομα . . . . .]
		απ Ἰνους αυθι δ[. . . . .]
		σι γυναιμανεα[s . . . . .]
		νοων εα κηλα [. . . . .]
		τον λογον προ . [. . . . .]
	20	ο δε βουλετα[ι . . . . .]
		[. .]s μαιναδας επ[. . . . .]
		[. . .] . αις και ταυτα[. . . . .]
		[. .]αρα παννυχιο[. . . . .]
		[. .]το γαλακτι νη[. . . . .]
	25	η τ εκαην αλος του . [. . . . .]
		[. .] . λο . γνωριμος [. . . . .]
		[. .] Ὀρνεας οτι ποταμ[ος εστιν]

[Αργ]ειας εν ταις Χειλια[σιν ειρη  
 [κ]εν και ο Μαρμαρος δε τ[ης] Ευβοι ?  
 30 ας εν τω Περι ποταμω[ν Καλ  
 λιμαχος ειρη(κεν) Νηριν δε ποτα  
 μον μεν ουκ οίδα λεγε[ιν ου .  
 δε εν Κι<sup>ωι</sup> οι Ηρακλειδαι [εστρα  
 τοπεδευσαν κατα την εις Αρ  
 35 γος στρατειαν μη ποτε δε τωι  
 Αιτωλωι πεπιστευκεν [. . . . .]

## Fr. 2.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

Slight vestiges of 8 lines.

[. . . . .]  
 . . ο . [ . . . . .]  
 ταπ[ . . . . .]  
 σαν λ[ . . . . .]  
 αις τα . [ . . . . .]  
 5 . s ουτως . [ . . . . .]  
 . . . . . [ . . . . .]  
 . . . . . [ . . . . .]

## Fr. 3.

[. . .] . μ . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . .]  
 Δελεγεσ ουτοι δ ησαν συλλ[εκ  
 [τ]οι τινες και μιγαδες εκ πολ [ . . . . .]  
 λων εθνων εκαλειτο δ η νη [ . . . . .]  
 5 σος Παρθενις απο της αρχης [ . . . . .]  
 εχου[σα] την προσηγοριαν του [ . . . . .]  
 βασιλευοντος των Δελεγων [ . . . . .]  
 τον τε νυν καλουμενον π[οτα  
 μον Ιμβρασον Παρθενιον [μετ

10	ωνομασαν Δορυσσα δε κα[ι Φυλλις παρωνυμον υπο τω[ν εξωθεν ανθρωπων ε . . [ . . δε δια τι Δορυσσα τε κα[ι Φυλλις εκληθη επ . [ . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . .	
15	καρπων ηγο[υν . . . . . ηγο(υν) ανθεμι[ . . . . .	
	ημεις υπ[	14 letters
	λον τω[ν [	15 "
	τον παρ[	" "
20	Ερμη πι[	14 "
	τημος οτ . . [	12 "
	ρον εδος ελε[	" "
	φησιν πε . . [	" "
	μηναι βουλ . . [	10 "
25	ταυτην οι . [	12 "
	Ευρωπε[ια	" "
	σιανοι, τω[	14 "
	οι προσ[	16 "

A ?

Fr. 4.

Col. i.

. . .  
]ωσι  
]υ  
. . .

Col. ii.

. . .  
κωνι . [ .  
σθαι . [ .  
5 τω[ν δι[ .  
. . . [ .  
. . . [ .  
σια[ .  
. . .

Fr. 1. 1 sqq. This passage evidently relates to Combe *alias* Chalcis, daughter of Asopus, from whom the Euboean town is said to have been named; cf. Steph. Byz. *Χαλκίς* . . . *ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Κόμβης τῆς Χαλκίδος καλουμένης, θυγατρὸς Ἀσωποῦ*. She is also called the mother

of the Corybantes in Schol. T Hom.  $\Xi$  291, Nonnus xiii. 136 sqq., hence  $\kappa\iota\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha$  and  $\kappa\iota\mu\beta\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  are probable restorations; the form  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  occurs in Callim. *H.* i. 46 and elsewhere. How ll. 3-4 should be reconstructed is not clear; there seems hardly room for  $\sigma\ \text{Κομ[βην φουσσας την και Χα]λκίδα$ .

11. Cf. e.g. Suidas *δωδεκίδες θυσῖαι δώδεκα ἱερῶν*. But of course the letters may be divided *δωδεκ ιδ[ . . ω δε* or *. ω δε κιδ[* or *κ ιδ[*. The remains of the first letter point to  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\lambda$ , or less probably  $\kappa$  or  $\chi$ .

13. *Ιουβαι* could be read.

15-16. *Ινειον . . . απ Ινουσ*: this looks likely; but *Ινειον* is unknown.

18. *νοων εα*: *οι νοα νεα*.

23-5. If, as seems likely, ll. 23-4 are a citation, as the first half of l. 25 clearly is, a further letter should be assigned to the initial lacunae. Line 23 perhaps began [ $\tau\omicron\iota\ \delta$ ] *αρα παννυχοι*,  $\tau\omicron$  in the line below then being the remnant of the verb; but  $\pi\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha\ \text{παννυχοίς}$  is of course also possible. A comparison of l. 31 suggests that  $\nu\eta$  in l. 24 may be  $\text{Νη[ρις]}$ ; cf. Schol. Statius, *Theb.* iv. 46 *Neris montis nomen Argivi, ut ait Callimachus* (Fr. 566): a town of that name is mentioned by Pausan. ii. 38. 6 and Steph. Byz. A vestige of the letter after  $\nu$  in l. 25 would suit e. g.  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\upsilon$ .

27-8. Cf. Strabo viii. 382 *Ὀρνεαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐπάνυμοι τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ*, Eustath. Hom.

291. 11-12 *καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ἡ . . ἡ δμωνύμως Ὀρνεα τῷ ποταμῷ*.

29. A river *Μάρμαρος* is unknown, but perhaps a stream near *Μαρμάριον* in Euboea was so called.

30. *τω Περι ποταμων*: this is the treatise called by Suidas in his list of the works of Callimachus *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ποταμῶν*, and by Strabo ix. 397 *ἡ συναγωγή τῶν ποταμῶν*. It was subdivided into topographical sections dealing with Europe, Asia, &c.: cf. e. g. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1165 *ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμῶν*.

31. l. *εἴρη(κεν)*:  $\eta$  is written as a single waved stroke. For *Νηριον* cf. n. on ll. 23-5.

33. *Κιοι* was originally written by mistake for *Κιωι οι*. But *Κίος* seems very much out of place in this context.

35-6. [ $\tau\omega\iota$  | *Αιτωλοι*]: i. e. Alexander Aetolus.

Fr. 2. 6. Only slight remains of the tops of letters are preserved; the last of them before the lacuna is curved. If this line and the first of Fr. 3 are to be combined the rounded letter would immediately follow  $\mu$ , i. e. perhaps  $\mu\epsilon$  (not  $\mu\sigma$ ), but the combination is hardly satisfactory.

Fr. 3. 1. See the preceding note.

2-12. '[?] The early inhabitants of Samos were] the Leleges; these were a miscellaneous collection from many races. The island was originally (?) called Parthenis, being so named from the king of the Leleges, and they renamed the river, now called Imbrasus, Parthenius. By foreigners it was given the further names of Doryssa and Phyllis . . .'

2-4. Cf. Strabo vii. 322 *μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις Ἡσιόδῳ πιστεύσειεν οὕτως περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπόντι ἦτοι γὰρ Λοκρὸς Δελέγων ἠγήσατο λαῶν, τοὺς ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης Ζεὺς, ἀφθίτα μῆδεα εἰδώς, λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης λάουσι (1087. 39-40, n.) πόρε Δευκαλίωνι. τῇ γὰρ ἐτυμολογία τὸ συλλέκτους γεγονέναι τινὰς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ μυγάδας αἰνίττεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ*. This parallel strongly supports  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda[ε\kappa\tau\omicron\iota$ , but though  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda[$  in l. 2 is quite suitable,  $[\tau\omicron\iota$  is hardly suggested by the vestiges.

4-7. According to Tarraeus *ap.* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 187 the island was called Parthenia (-is is new) after the wife of Samos (cf. Schol. Dion. Per. 534); a more common derivation is from the river Parthenius (cf. l. 9 below), e.g. Strabo x. 457 *οὐδ' ἐκαλεῖτο τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι πρότερον, ἀλλὰ Μελέμφυλος (l. -φυλλ.), εἴτ' Ἀνθεμῖς, εἴτα Παρθενία ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Π,*

ὡς Ἰμβρασος μετωνομάσθη. The names were put in a different order by Aristotle *ap.* Pliny *N. H.* v. 135 *Samon . . . Partheniam primum appellatam Aristoteles tradit, postea Dryussam, deinde Anthemussam*; cf. Heraclid. *Polit.* x. 1. For ἀπο τῆς ἀρχῆς cf. Pliny's *primum*; the article is unusual in that sense, but no other reading seems likely.

8-9. Cf. Callim. *Fr.* 213 ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐκλήθησ' Ἰμβρασε Παρθενίου, Schol. *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 187 Ἰμβρασος γὰρ ποταμὸς Σάμου ὡς μετεκλήθη Παρθένιος, ii. 866, Schol. *Pind. Ol.* vi. 149, and the passage from Strabo quoted in the previous note.

10-11. Cf. Hesych. Δόρυσσα· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Σάμος, and Φυλλίς· ἡ Σάμος τὸ πάλαι, *Nicand. Alex.* 148-50 γαίης Παρθενίης ἦν Φυλλίς ὑπὸ κνημοῖσιν ἀνῆκεν Ἰμβράσιδος γαίης, with Schol. *ad loc.* . . . Φυλλίς γὰρ ἡ Σάμος. In an oracle quoted by *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* ii. 4 the name appears as Φυλλάς.

14. επ: or perhaps ειο.

16. ο of ηγο(υ) is written small below the horizontal stroke of the γ. ανθεμι[ presumably is, or refers to, another of the names of Samos, Ἀνθεμίς (*Strabo* x. 457; cf. n. above on ll. 4-7) or Ἀνθέμουσα (*Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 872, *Steph. Byz.* s. v. Σάμος, *Arist. ap. Pliny, N. H.* v. 135).

21. This line looks like the beginning of a lemma, but there is no ἔκθεσις as in *Fr.* 1. ii.

26. *Ευρωπαϊα*: possibly a literary reference, e.g. to the poem of Nicander, but the form *Εὐρώπεια* was used for *Εὐρώπη* (e.g. *Steph. Byz.* s. v.) and the collocation with (?) *Αἰσιανοί* is in favour of a geographical meaning; cf. l. 27, n.

27. The form of the sign following αἰ is uncertain owing to the loss of the middle of it, but what remains rather suggests the comma-like mark sometimes employed to divide words, and if that is the right interpretation, *Αἰσιανοί* is strongly supported, especially with *Ευρωπαϊα* in the preceding line. Perhaps, however, this symbol is to be connected with the oblique dash on the edge of the papyrus between ll. 27 and 28, and may signify e.g. an omission in the text.

**Fr. 4.** This fragment is apparently not to be connected with *Fr.* 2.

#### 2086. SCHOLIA: TREATISE ON RHETORIC.

*Fr.* 1 15.5 x 8.5 cm.

Second and third centuries.  
Plate III (*Fr.* 1 recto).

The recto of this papyrus is, like 2085, occupied with Scholia, but the nature of the work from which the words and phrases are selected is here less clear. Some of them rather suggest comedy, and they are all consistent with iambic metre; verse of some kind is presumably indicated by *τοὐλέφαντος* in l. 15. But in l. 12 the heading *μέρους δ* occurs, and in dealing with a comedy a division into parts seems out of place. The explanations, so far as preserved, are mostly brief, but one or two extend to several lines.

The rather small, neat hand in which this text is written is of some interest, being a more lightly formed and less regular variety of the type seen at its best in the Bacchylides papyrus and 1234. It may be referred to the latter half of the second century. Rough breathings, apparently by the original scribe, occur

here and there. A paragraphus or coronis (the margin is torn away) at l. 11 marks the end of a section. The lemmata project strongly to the left of the column, and are followed by appreciable blank spaces.

On the verso, written in a sloping semicursive, probably of the third century, is part of a column relating to Rhetoric; the remains are more suggestive of a series of notes than a set treatise, several of the lines being incompletely filled. Of their original length there is no clear indication. A heading, with a blank space both above and below it, occurs in l. 15. Abbreviation is used in the case of familiar names or titles. There is one instance of a stop in the middle position.

*Fr.* 1 recto. Plate III.

. . . εστινος . . . πασα . . . [ ] σ[  
 ὡσπερ γὰρ σ[φ]θαλμοί [ ] μεγα  
 λαις τιμαῖς τὸν Ἀπ[ολλῶνα  
 εἰς Δηλὸν δε θυσίαν ἀπεπ[εμφαν] ὀποταν  
 5 δι Ἀρματος ἀστραψῆ οὐ[τος δ εστι τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
 οὐκ  
 τοπος ἐν ᾧ εὐκερῶς ἀσ[τραπη] ὀραται  
 πληκτισμος ὅταν ἐν παιδία τ[ις] ?  
 τα Καρπαθα καὶ οἱ Σόλοι τῆς Κύπρου [τοποὶ εἰσιν  
 Πυλαϊκῆ ἢ ἐν ταῖς Πυλαῖς καὶ Ἀ[μφικτυό] ?  
 10 σὶ γεγομενη τὴν οὐν πορ . [ ]  
 διεσπονδῆκως διεσπακῶς [ ]  
 μέρους δ [ ]  
 ληρος επαλιφθεις ἐπισυρεις [ ]  
 μυκτηρισμου καταγελωτο[ς]  
 15 [ . . . ]ς τουλεφαντος ἡ παρο[ιμια] ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ὑπερμετρῶς τι ποιοῦντων [ ]  
 . . . ]ς ἀσωτίας χ[ρ]ῆται δε ἀπ[ ]  
 . . . δυ]σπαθῆς οὔτι πρὸς μετρο[ν]  
 . . . . χ]εῖρι περιλαμβανεσθα[ι]  
 20 ? υπερβαι]νοντες τουτο το μετ[ρον]  
 ]νος Ἀθηνησι ἐνδ[ ]  
 . . . . . τῆν] ἀκροπολιν οὐ μ[ ]  
 ] . ιασαι τους θεο[π]

Fr. 2 recto.

. . . . .  
 ] . [ . . . . ] ες [ . . . . ]  
 25 ]ον εις Ψωφειδ[α  
 ] . . ε . [ . . . . ]  
 ] . . . . .

1. Perhaps *οικ εστιν οστ[ι]ς πας*, which would be consistent with the scanty remains.

2-6. Cf. Strabo ix. 404, where after distinguishing the Boeotian from the Attic "Αρμα he says of the latter *ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἢ λέγουσα ὁπότεν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ· ἀστράψῃ τινα σημειούμενων κατὰ χρῆσιν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλέπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοῦς, ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν· ἐτήρουν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας*, and the similar account in Eustath. Hom. 266. 33 sqq. *εις Δηλον* in l. 4 is apparently a slip for *εις Δελφους*. In l. 6 l. *ευκαιρος*.

7. *πληκτισμος*: cf. *Anth. Pal.* xii. 209.

9. Cf. Strabo ix. 436 *τὴν Πυλαϊκὴν πανήγυριν*, and metaphorically, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 29 *Πυλαϊκῆς ἀγλαγωγίας*.

10. *πορ* followed by a vertical stroke seems preferable to *πον*, but how the word should be completed is not obvious.

11. l. *διεσποδῆκος*, and cf. Hesych. *διεσποδημένη· διακεκρουσμένη*. But *διασπᾶν* appears not to occur in this sense.

21. A new note may have begun here. Lobel suggests *μ]υος*, and *μν]ες* in l. 22.

Fr. 1 verso.

τ]ου κ(ατα) Τ[ι]μοκ(ρατους)  
 ] . . [ . ] ν τις ο ρρθα λ[.]  
 ] . φ . . αι παρασχειν  
 ] τας οταν τοις με  
 5 α]ποδειξεως γενο  
 [μεν . . ] μαν επαγωμεν μη  
 κα]τασκευαζομενας [[κα]]  
 ]ς ινα μη υποπτευθω  
 [μεν δι]ηγουμενοι  
 10 ]ς συμβουλευτικοις  
 ] ως επι το πολυ εγει  
 ] ακουοντες το πραγμα  
 ] Φιλιπ(π ) εστι δη τα γ εμοι

] . . . . .  
 15 πε]ρι κεφαλαιων  
 ]  
 ]ις κατα περιοδον ω[.  
 ] . ν[.]σαν επιχειρημα[.  
 ] .  
 20 κεφ]αλαια δε [σ]υνορα η [ . . .  
 ] ευκαιρος η πρω[ . . . .  
 ]σαι ως Δημοσθ(ενης) ε[ν . . . .  
 τελε]νταιον εθηκε τ[ο . . . .  
 ]σε περι των σ[ . . . . .  
 25 ] . η εξειναι υπ[ . . . . .  
 ]θεντας.  
 ]η[.] κατ[ . . . . .

Fr. 2 verso.

] . . . . .  
 ]ατα[ . ] [ . . . . .  
 30 ]μεν[ . . . . .  
 ] [ . . . . .  
 ]σ[κ[ . . . . .  
 ] . . ?[ . . . . .

1. The reference is, of course, to the oration of Demosthenes, whose name occurs below, l. 22.

2. The last letter visible seems to be clearly λ, not α, and there are no further traces, but the surface immediately adjacent is damaged and an ε or ο may have disappeared.

3. The doubtful ω may be κ, and *κεναι* would be a possible reading.

6. Perhaps ο]ταν.

13. Φιλιπ(π): some case either of Φίλιππος or Φιλιππικός.

15. κεφαλαιων: cf. e. g. Dion. Hal. *De rhet.* x. 15.

18. ]σαν: ]ταν is equally possible.

24. γ or ε may be read in place of the doubtful σ.

25. Perhaps ]μη.



## 2087. GLOSSARY.

16.5 x 12.6 cm.

Second century.

This papyrus offers a further sample of early lexicography, of which some valuable specimens were included in Part XV (1801-4); cf. also P.S.I. 892. There are parts of three columns, but of these the middle one, which has lost its top, is alone worth reproducing; of the column preceding only a few letters from the ends of lines are preserved, and Col. iii is represented by no more than scanty remains of the beginnings of nine lines from near the bottom, of which the only use is to show that the syllable *ap* had been reached in the line corresponding approximately with ii. 38. The first line of Col. i is opposite to ii. 8, and above it the papyrus is un-inscribed to a depth of about 1.5 cm. Apparently, then, the glossary began at that point, and possibly a title stood in the space above; in that case the loss at the top of Col. ii is not likely to be great. The hand is a small upright semicursive, which in places where the surface has been rubbed is difficult to decipher, and the difficulty is not lessened by the frequent use of abbreviations, which follow the system found e.g. in 856; cf. 2080. A date in the second century is indicated. As in 1801, &c., the words chosen for explanation project slightly into the left margin, but they are not as a rule followed by an appreciable interval before the next word is begun. No paragraphi or stops occur.

To judge from the present sample this glossary was less interesting than those which have been mentioned above. It gives a small selection of comparatively rare words or uses, but the principle on which the compiler was proceeding is not easily followed. His illustrations are taken from prose (see, however, n. on l. 22) and mostly from such obvious authorities as Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, and Aristotle. They tend moreover to be loose, both as regards the books named and the quotations made from them; see nn. on ll. 1-10, 22, 25-6, 31-3, 42-4. The attribution in l. 14 of 10 obols to the Aeginetan stater is noteworthy. As in 416 recto and 1801, alphabetical sequence is not observed beyond the second letters of the words.

[ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . τι [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] γ . . . [ . . . ] ρ μ (εν) ω ρ [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ρ . . . [ . . . ] δικαστ[ . . . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] π . οι δ(ε) εγγυς ολ . [ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ] . Αρισ[τ]οτελ(ης) εν [Α]θ(ηναιων) Πολιτεια τ(ην?) . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . τ(ην) [ε]ι δικαστ[αι] κλοπην μ(εν) η δω  
 ρ[οδο]κιαν δεκαπλω κ(ατα)κρ[ινο]υσι ει δ(ε)  
 αλλως αδικησειεν απλο(υν) αυτω τι  
 10 μωνται ο καλειται αδικιου  
 αιολογια το π(ερι) τ(ου) αυ[τ](ου) πολλακις λογιζεσθαι  
 αθλοι κ(αι) τα επαθλα αυτα Θουκυδ(ιδης) αρσενικ(ως)  
 αιδ(ε)σις . . . . [αι]δ(ε)σις δοσις κ(αι) φιλανθρωπια  
 Αιγιναια δραχμη δυναται οβ[ολ]λ(ους) δεκα  
 15 . . [ . . . ] . . την κ(ε)ραμειαν  
 Αια[κ]ιον κ(αι) η θολος ο[υ] φασι [τ]ον Αιακον  
 οικησ[α]ι θο[λο]ς δ(ε) οπου δε[ι] [ . . . ] πρυτα  
 νεου αφ . . . ε . [ . . . ] τω Αιακω δικ(ην) αναγραφον<sup>τα</sup>  
 ακηρατον αγηραον αγ . . . ατον . . . α  
 20 σιον ανε(πι)μεικτον  
 ακραιφνες ακεραιοφανες καθαρον  
 ακταινωσαι Πλατ(ων) Π(ερι) ψυχ(ης) εξαραιωσαι  
 ακομφος ακακος κομφος γ(αρ) ο πανουργος  
 αλλοκοτος ιδιοτροπος τιθεται δ(ε) καν  
 25 π(ερι) το σωμα τοιουτο Θουκυδ(ιδης) εν τη ̄  
 Πλατ(ων) εν τοις Νομο[ι]ς  
 αλαζονας τους ψευδομ(εν)ους μετα τινος  
 τεχνης κ(αι) γοητίας Ηροδοτ(ος) ̄ ανδρι Φω  
 και αλαζονι Αισχινης ε(πι) Προδικου  
 30 τον μ(εν) γ(αρ) σοφιστ(ην) κ(αι) αλαζονα ηγο(υν)ται  
 αλλον αντι του τινα εστι [π]λησιον Ηροδοτ(ος) β  
 κ(αι) αλλο μ(εν) εχει ετερου δ(ε) ε(πι)δειται Δημο  
 σθ(ενης) εν τω π(ρος) Βοιωτον ωσπ(ερ) αλλω χαλκω  
 αληπεδον το ασπορον κ[α]ι [α]ι] αφυτευτον  
 35 οιον αελαπεδον  
 αληκτα αμεριστα ληξεις γ(αρ) οι κληροι  
 ενθεν κ(αι) το λαχειν  
 αμβωνες τα υ(περ)εχοντα ως οι αναβα  
 [θ]μοι αμβωνες

40 αμφιβολ[ο]ι αμφοτερωθ[εν] βαλλομ[εν]οι  
 Ηροδο[τος] Αθηναιοι δ[ε] κ[α]ι περ αμ[φ]ιβ[ο]λη εχομ[εν]οι  
 αναρριχασθαι το ανελ[θειν] τοις ποσι  
 [κ[α]ι] α[μ]α ταις χερ[σ]ι αναβα[ι]νοντα[ς] Αριστοτελ[η]ς  
 Ζωων φυσε[ω]ς .

1-10. Most, at any rate, of these lines relate to ἀδικίον (γραφή). The passage of the 'Αθ. Πολ. referred to is evidently liv. 2 κἂν μὲν τινα κλέπτουτ' ἐξελέγξωσι, κλοπὴν οἱ δικασταὶ καταγνώσκουσι καὶ τὸ γνωσθέν ἀποτίνεται δεκαπλοῦν' ἐὰν δὲ τινα δῶρα λαβόντα ἀποδείξωσιν καὶ κατάγνωσιν οἱ δικασταί, δῶρων τιμῶσιν, ἀποτίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεκαπλοῦν' ἂν δ' ἀδικεῖν καταγνώσιν, ἀδικίον τιμῶσιν, ἀποτίνεται δὲ τοῦθ' ἄπλοῦν, ἐὰν πρὸ τῆς θ' πρυτανείας ἐκτίσῃ τις, εἰ δὲ μή, διπλοῦται. Of this the papyrus merely gives a rough summary. The construction of ll. 6-7 is obscure; a verb is lacking in the protasis εἰ . . . μ[εν] . . .

11. The sense here attributed to ἀειλογία is rather different from what is recognized elsewhere. Harpocration paraphrases τὸ αἰεὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν, Photius and Bekker, *Anecd.* 346. 31 πολυλογία ἢ ταυτολογία.

12. Cf. Bekker, *Anecd.* 210. 14 ἄλλος· κυρίως ὁ πόνος καὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα, 349. 21 ἀρσενικῶς τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸ ἀγώνισμα καὶ τὸ ἔπαθλον (so too Suid.). The place cited from Thucyd. is vi. 80. 4 τῆς νίκης οὐκ ἄλλον τιμὰ ἄθλον . . . λήφονται, a passage which seems to have eluded modern lexicographers.

13. The vestiges after αἰδ[ε]σις suggest something like αἰ. κ[α]ι does not seem suitable, nor does αἰδ[ε]σις occur in a compound form. αἰδ[ε]σις is coupled with φιλανθρωπία in Demosth. c. *Mid.* 43, but the meaning of δόσις is peculiar.

14. οβ[ο]λ[ος] (ous) δεκα: this accords with the testimony of Pollux ix. 76, 86, which has been the subject of much discussion; cf. Hultsch, *Metrol.* 194 sqq.

15. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Γάζα, οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολῖται Αἰγυπτῶν καὶ Γαζαῖοι, οἱ δὲ κέραμοι Γαζῖται καὶ Αἰγυπτῶται. The word before την was perhaps abbreviated; something like τίθεται δὲ περὶ is indicated; cf. ll. 24-5.

16-18. Cf. Bekker, *Anecd.* 212. 15 Αἰάκιον· τόπος οὗ φασι τὸν Αἰ. οἰκῆσαι, Hesych. Αἰάκειον· οὗ φασι Αἰ. οἰκῆσαι. Nothing corresponding to the latter part of the gloss is to be found in the lexica. πρυτανεον is for -νειον.

19-20. The readings here are very uncertain. If αγηραον is right, the next word is possibly αγερατον for ἀγήρατον, but if so, the ρ was made unusually small, though εἰ is suitable. Similarly at the end of the line α[κ]ερα[σ]ιον may perhaps be supposed to have been written for ἀ[κ]ηράσιον. Cf. Suidas ἀκήρατον· ἀκέραιον, ἀφθαρτον, ἀθάνατον, Bekker, *Anecd.* 364. 27 ἀκήρατος· ἀφθαρτος, ἀπαθής.

21. Cf. Etym. Magn. ἀκραιφνής, ὁ καθαρὸς . . . παρὰ τὸ ἀκέραιον καὶ τὸ φαῖνω, ἀκραιοφανής, Schol. Thuc. i. 52 ἀκραιφνεῖς· ἀβλαβεῖς, ἀκραιοφανεῖς.

22. Περὶ ψυχῆς: i. e. the *Phaedo*. Cf. Phryn. *ap.* Bekk. *Anecd.* 23. 7 ἀκταινώσαι· σημαίνει μὲν τὸ ὑψῶσαι καὶ ἐπάραι καὶ μετεωρίσαι . . . Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι ὡς ἀπὸ περισπωμένου. But ἀκταινώσαι, which occurs in *Leg.* 672 c, is not found in the ordinary text of the *Phaedo*, and hence Meineke's alteration of Φαίδωνι τὸ Φάωνι (i. e. of Plato Comicus, Kock Fr. 180) has been generally accepted. The papyrus shows the corruption, if it be such, to be surprisingly ancient.

23. Cf. e. g. Hesych. ἀκομψον· ἀπάνουργον, ἄπλοῦν.

25-6. 5 at the end of l. 25 should be γ (iii. 49. 4); the passage in the *Latins* is 747 d.

27-9. There is no close parallel in the lexica to this definition. The passage in Hdt. is vi. 12, and in Aeschines (Socraticus), *Περὶ πλούτου* 22.

31-3. Cf. Suid. ἄλλος . . . τάσσεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τίς· ὁπότε κεν καὶ ἄλλος (Homer λ 127), Bekker, *Anecd.* 379. 13. The first two letters of [π]λησιον must have been unusually small to be accommodated to the space, and perhaps εσ[τι] πλησιον should be read. The citations are inexact; ἀλλὰ (not καὶ) ἄλλο μὲν . . . ἐπιδέεται comes from the first book of Hdt. (i. 32), and the passage referred to in the c. *Boeotum* (§ 10) is εἰ σημεῖον, ὡσπερ ἂν ἄλλφ τινί, τῷ χαλκίῳ προσέσται.

34-5. αληπεδον: this spelling is also that of Hesych. and occurs as a v. l. in Theophr. *Hist. plant.* vii. 15. 2 and elsewhere. Various explanations of the first part of the word are found in the Grammarians; l. 35 appears to assert a connexion with ἔλος.

36. Cf. Bekker, *Anecd.* 202. 17 ἀλ[λ]ηκτα· ἀκλήρωτα, ἀδιαίρετα, ἀμέριστα, κοινά.

38-9. Cf. Phryn. *ap.* Bekk. 12. 4 where ἄμβωνες are described as πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα καὶ ἀνεστηκότα. The use of the word in the sense of κλιμάκων ἀναβαθμοί is said to be Coan by Apollon. Cit. i. 7.

40-1. Cf. e. g. Hesych. ἀμφίβολοι· ἐκατέρωθεν βαλλόμενοι. The words Αθηναιοι . . . εχομ[εν]οι are from Hdt. v. 74.

42-4. Cf. e. g. Phryn. *ap.* Bekk. 19. 25 ἀναρριχῶσθαι . . . τὸ τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀντεχόμενον ἀναβαίνειν. In l. 43 χερ[σ]ι seems unduly cramped, and possibly χερσιν (αν)αβ. is the right reading; cf. ll. 31-3, n.: χερσι λαβο[μ]ενον is unsuitable. The word occurs in Arist. *Hist. an.* ix. 40. 14, not in the *Nat. an.*

## 2088. LATIN FRAGMENT ON SERVIUS TULLIUS.

11 X 11 cm.

Second century. Plate III.

This remarkable fragment from the bottom of a column is written in a medium-sized clear cursive script suggestive of a by no means late date in the second century; the reign of Antoninus would perhaps be a suitable period. Care on the part of the writer is shown in the small finials with which the tops of the upright strokes of *i*, *l*, and *u* are commonly supplied. The cross-stroke of *a* is usually represented by a small hook attached to the base of the second stroke; sometimes it is omitted, and once (*ea*, l. 12) somewhat exaggerated. This second stroke of *a* tends to be rather prominent, as also does the diagonal of *n*, projecting above the left of the first upright and being carried to the top, not the base, of the second. Words are as a rule separated by dots. A pause is in one place apparently indicated by a blank space, which may well have been accompanied by a marginal paragraphus.

Both beginnings and ends of the lines are deficient, and the extent of the loss cannot be gauged with any accuracy. Probably it is not large, since what has survived of the column is already of considerable width, and the longer lines can mostly be made intelligible without much addition. The gist of the piece is clear enough. Speaking of the Roman *centuriae* the writer states that these

were entirely the creation of Servius Tullius, as a military measure, and then describes other Servian institutions, the organization of the *pagi*, and the foundation of the citadel of Rome in the first *pagus*, i. e., apparently, the Palatine. Professor G. De Sanctis, who, after consultation with Professors Castiglioni, Pasquali, and Rostagni, has been so kind as to send some valuable suggestions on this fragment, believes it to represent the work of an antiquarian rather than an annalist. That the writer was not here recording a series of events is indicated by the application of the title *rex* to Tullius when mentioned in l. 8 for the second time. A polemical attitude is seen in the emphatic statement that all the centuries originated with him, and that he was absolutely the first to introduce them (ll. 6-7). This controverts accounts which traced the *centuriae equitum* back to Romulus (cf. Livy i. 13. 8, 43. 9) and made the number of the Servian centuries differ from what existed at a later period (Livy i. 43. 12; cf. Dionys. Hal. i. 21. 3). The author's views on these matters are hardly commended by his singular theory of the origin of ancient Rome (cf. ll. 14 sqq. and n.). As to the period at which he wrote, the palaeographical evidence points to a date not later than the first century; and if it can be inferred from ll. 5-6 that the suspension of the *comitia centuriata* by Tiberius had not yet taken place, a much earlier *terminus ante quem* is obtainable. Professor Stuart Jones has made the conjecture that the writer may be Fenestella, an annalist with antiquarian interests who lived into the reign of Tiberius and is coupled by Asconius, p. 59. 3, with Sallust and Livy. Another possibility is suggested by the similarity of ll. 3-5 to a passage of Festus (cited in the n. *ad loc.*) that the author may be Verrius Flaccus, of whose work *De significatu verborum* that of Festus was an abridgement. 2088 however cannot be referred to that treatise, so that if Flaccus wrote it as well as the passage on which the article in Festus was based, he did not escape repetition. But the significance of an isolated verbal correspondence, which might be due to the use of a common source or even to accident, is easily exaggerated. In any case, to find readers in Egypt the writer was presumably of some repute; but for the present his identity must be considered quite uncertain.

. . . . .  
 . . . . . ] . *ineo* . . . [  
 ] *si si quis . sent* [  
 ] *o . in sua . centuria*  
 ] *no* ] *men . ferre . posset* ] *ne quis suffragii?*  
 5 ? *iure p[ri]var[etur] hae . et . ceterae . cent[ur]iae*  
*quae] nunc . sunt . omnes . Servi . Tulli .* [  
 . . . . .

*qui pri]mus . omnino . centurias . fecit .* [  
 ] . *ceres . Ser . Tullius . rex . belli . stip[en]d*  
 ] *causa . exercitum . conscripsit . co[.] . . .* [  
 10 ] *cum . finitumis . belligerabat . deinde . omnes?*  
 ] . *u perditio . divisit . pagosque . in tribu[s] distribuit?*  
 ? *post]ea . in oppido .* <sup>quo</sup> *qui[.] . o]]sque . pago . civis . ha[bitabat*  
 ] *exque . pagis . milites . conquirebantur et tributum?*  
 ] *e] pagis . cogebatur . primoque . in pago [arx?*  
 15 *condita . est . eaque . Roma . muro [ . . . ] .*  
 ] *quis . at . Romam . quadrata . r[ati]o*  
*c]aput . Romam quadratam [*

1-5. These lines most probably refer to the century called *Ni quis scivit* described by Festus, p. 177, *Ni quis scivit centuria est, quae dicitur a Ser. Tullio rege constituta, in qua liceret ei suffragium ferre qui non tulisset in sua, ne quis civis suffragii iure privaretur*. It was considered fictitious by Mommsen, *Staatsr.* iii. 286. At the end of l. 2 *sent* not *cent* seems clear. *p[ri]var[etur]* in l. 5 was recognized by Mr. H. M. Last; though broken the letters are entirely suitable.

5-6. Perhaps *cent[ur]iae equitum peditumque*, as De Sanctis suggests, with something like *[sunt lege creatae* after *Tulli*.

8. ] . *ceres* is apparently unavoidable, neither *heres* nor *-ceret* being admissible. The vestige of the letter before *c* would suit *u* among other possibilities, but a mention of the tribe *Luceres* is unexpected at this point; *pr]oceres* is not to be read. At the end of the line some case of *stipendium* looks likely, e. g. *stip]endii populi conciliandi] causa* (De Sanctis).

9. Bases of two or three letters after *co[.]* are insufficient to indicate the word, but would serve to confirm or disallow a conjecture.

10. Cf. Livy i. 42 *peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus . . . aliisque Etruscis sumptum*, Cicero, *De rep.* ii. 21 (37) *et primum Etruscorum iniurias bello est ultus*.

10-12. Cf. Dionys. Hal. iv. 15. 2 *διελὸν δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος εἰς ὀπίσθας δῆποτε μοίρας (sc. φυλάς) τὴν γῆν . . . κρησφύγετα κατεσκεύασεν, Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ καλῶν Πάγους, ἐνθα συνέφενγον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἅπαντες, ὁπότε γένοιτο πολεμίων ἔφοδος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ διευκτέρευον ἐνταῦθα*. In l. 12 *cuiusque* seems to have been at first written, the *c* was then converted into a *q* by the addition of a tail, *lo* smeared out (the *o* very imperfectly), and *quo* inserted above the line.

13-14. Cf. Dionys. Hal. iv. 15. 3 *ἄρχοντες δὲ καὶ τούτων (sc. τῶν πάγων) ἦσαν . . . καὶ ὁπότε χρεῖα γένοιτο ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς χωρίτας καλεῖν ἢ χρημάτων εἰσφοράς κατ' ἄνδρα ἐκλέγειν, οὗτοι τὰ τε σάματα συνήγον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰσέπραττον*.

14 sqq. The author here takes a very singular view. Ignoring the usual distinction between the *montani* and *pagani* he apparently included the Palatine in the *primus pagus* and regarded the original *Roma quadrata* as an artificial creation of Servius Tullius. At the end of l. 15 some such word as *circumdata* is required, and this can perhaps be accommodated to the very exiguous vestiges (*[cir]cu[m?]*). For *Roma quadrata* cf. Solinus 1 *Romam condidit Romulus . . . dictaque est primum Roma quadrata quod ad aequilibrium foret posita*. This is different from the *quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis* of Festus, p. 258

## 2089. LATIN JURISTIC FRAGMENT.

3.8 x 14.4 cm.

Fourth or fifth century.  
Plate IV (recto).

This is a strip of thin vellum, containing on each side remains of two columns. Vertical and horizontal lines were ruled with a hard point on the recto (flesh side), and midway between the inner vertical rulings there is a distinct crease, from which it can be inferred that two leaves are represented in the fragment and also that the verso of Fol. 1 came uppermost. The small upright hand, a well-written example of the mixed uncial type (*b* and *d* show minuscule forms), is not likely to be earlier than the fourth nor later than the fifth century. Dark and light strokes are strongly contrasted, the more lightly drawn ones being so fine that in places they have nearly or quite disappeared. The text is broken up into paragraphs, and the first letter of a paragraph is both slightly enlarged and made to project by its own width into the margin. Abbreviation, which is fairly frequent, is indicated by a horizontal stroke above letters or a medial dot after them, sometimes by a combination of the two (e. g. l. 19 *uf*). *p* with a diagonal stroke through the tail stands for *per*.

On Fol. 2 only the beginnings and ends of a few lines are preserved, but Fol. 1 contains on both sides several complete lines, which relate to the *leges caducariae*. Lines 5 sqq. deal with a case in which *proprietas* is bequeathed *per vindicationem* to several legatees jointly, one of whom by reason of premature death or otherwise fails to take it. Since the sentence goes on to speak of usufruct, it seems likely that *nuda proprietas*, i.e. the reversion upon a usufruct, is here meant. The lapsed share would pass, by a constitution of Caracalla (Ulpian xvii. 2) amending the rule of the *lex Papia Poppaea* (Gaius ii. 206-8), to the *fiscus*, but how the usufruct was affected is not revealed, as the fragment breaks off at this point. Lines 15 sqq. state the right of a wife inheriting the tenth part of her husband's estate to the enjoyment also of the usufruct of a third part, and to the receipt of her dowry, if bequeathed to her. This latter passage has a close parallel in Ulpian xv. 3. The piece is evidently a relic of pre-Justinian jurisprudence analogous to some others recovered from Egypt, such as P. Grenf. ii. 107 and the so-called 'Formula Fabiana', of which further fragments have lately made their appearance at Berlin (ed. P. Meyer, *Z. Sav.-St.* xlii. 42 sqq.). The limits on the power of inheritance between married couples fixed by the *lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea* were abrogated in A. D. 410 (Cod. Iust. viii. 57. 2), but 2089 was not therefore necessarily copied before that date.

I am indebted to Professor F. de Zulueta for some valuable suggestions on this fragment.

Fol. 1 verso.

[. . .] *qu*  
[. . .] *s in qua* . . . [ . . . . . ] *ur*  
[. . .] *his utiliter dari qui spo(n)*  
[*de*] *aut stipulatur*  
5 [ *p*] *proprietatae duobus plurib(us)*  
*ve p(er) vindicat(ionem) con[i]unctim le*  
*gata si unus portionem* [ *suam* ]  
*suam virilem n(on) ceperit aut*  
*morte praeventus aut p[oe]?*  
10 *nis impeditus u(s) f(ruct) ast* . [ . . . .  
*natus* . [ . . . .

Fol. 1 recto. Plate IV.

[.] [ 13 letters ] . . . [ . . . . .  
*te* [ . . . . . ] . *mul( ) alte[r]* . . . .  
*ferre cogetur*  
15 *hoc loco et illud animadv(er)[ten*  
*dum e(st) q(uod) uxor (dece)maria qu(ae) ex h(on)is)?*  
*mariti decemam capiat eoru(n)*  
*dem i(a)m(en) bonorum tertiae par*  
*tis u(sum) f(ructum) capere n(on) prohibetur et*  
20 [ . . . ] . *qui(dem?) legatam sibi quanta(m)*  
[ *cumq(ue)?* ] *proprietatis partem*  
[ 13 letters ] *ter[ti]ae partis*

Fol. 2 recto. Plate IV.

[ . . . . .  
[ *etiam* [ . . . . . ] *?iu*  
25 *dicium d[ . . . . .*  
[ . . . . .

Fol. 2 verso.

. . . . . ] . imi  
 . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] . .  
 . . . . .

5 sqq. Cf. Gaius ii. 199 *si duobus pluribusve per vindicationem eadem res legata sit, sive coniunctim sive disiunctim* . . . , Ulpian xxiv. 12. In l. 6 there is no visible mark of abbreviation in *vindicat(ionem)*, and that above the *n* of *n(on)* in l. 8 is barely distinguishable. At the end of l. 9 the remains of the letter after *aut* suggest *f*, *p*, or *r*; *legibus* meaning the *lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea*, which might have been anticipated, is plainly excluded, but perhaps *poenis* (sc. *legum*) would serve to express the same idea,—especially if the fragment came from a treatise on the *Leges*. Lines 10–11 are obscure; *asti* is quite possible, but *asti[pu]latus* is not to be read.

13. A point after *mul* indicates abbreviation; cf. ll. 5 and 19 where similar points follow *plurib* and *uf*.

15 sqq. Cf. Ulpian xv. 3 *praeter decimam etiam usumfructum tertiae partis bonorum [eius] capere possunt (sc. vir et uxor), . . . hoc amplius mulier praeter decimam, dotem (capere) potest legatam sibi*. From this it is clear that ll. 20–1 refer to the *dos*, and *quanta(m)[cumq(ue)] proprietatis partem* can be taken to mean whatever part of the property is comprised in the dowry. But *dotem*, which would naturally be looked for at the beginning of l. 20, is too long for the space, and the remains seem to be inconsistent with *m*. Apparently then *dotem* or an equivalent occurred in l. 22. *et . . . qui(dem)*, however, is read with some hesitation. At first sight *e* looks like the end of the line, and though an exiguous vestige on a level with the top of the *e* may be a remnant of the cross-bar of *t*, it is strange that this letter has so nearly disappeared when those adjacent are well preserved. As for *qui(dem)*, there is a faint suggestion of a horizontal stroke above *i*, but *q(ui)d(em)* would be the usual abbreviation.

In l. 16 *Æ-maria* no doubt stands for *decemaria* (so presumably the scribe would have spelled it: cf. *de[c]emam* in the next line), which is explained in the following words *qu(ae) . . . capiat*. Cf. Cod. Iust. viii. 57 *De . . . decemariis sublatiis*, and for the abbreviation, *centurio* in the Berlin fragments of the 'Formula Fabiana'. The application of this rare term to persons is a novel use.

22. *ter[ti]ae partis* was doubtless preceded or followed by *u(s) f(ruct)*.

## III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2090. HESIOD, *Theogony*.

Fr. 2 25.1 × 9.5 cm.

Second century.

Three fragments, coming from the first, second, and sixth columns respectively, of a roll of the *Theogony*. Two of the fragments are insignificant, but Fr. 2 preserves the best part of a column, though the beginnings of the lines are missing throughout. The medium-sized script is a good example of the round upright type seen, for instance, also in 844 (Part V, Plate 7), and may be attributed to about the middle of the second century. Rather clumsy marks of elision have in two places been inserted by another hand, which was perhaps responsible also for the occasional punctuation by means of high or medial dots, employed apparently without much discrimination; a solitary instance of a circumflex accent (l. 46) is neatly formed, and might well be original.

With the exception of P. Ryl. 54, a small fragment from the Augustan age, this is the oldest papyrus of the *Theogony*, and it shows a good and interesting text, generally supporting the better readings of the MSS., irrespective of family; it may thus be taken to represent more or less the archetype from which the two main medieval groups sprang. An unknown variant occurs in l. 51. The supplements printed are from the text of Rzach (1902), without, of course, any implication that they actually stood in the papyrus.

Fr. 1.

αι]δειν [	5 Περμησσο]ιο
ζαθεο]ν τε	ζαθεοιο]
απαλοισ]ιν	ενεποιησαντ]ο
Κρονη]ωνος]	. . . . .

Fr. 2.

[ιδμεν δ ευ]τ εβελωμεν αληθεα γηρυσασθα[ι  
 [ως εφασα]ν κουραι μεγαλου Διος αρτιεπέ[ιαι  
 30 [και μοι σκ]ηπτρον εδον δαφνης εριθηλε[ος οζον  
 [δρεψασαι] θηητον ενεπνευσαν δε μοι αυ[δην  
 [θεσπιν ινα] κλειοιμι τα τ εσσομενα προ τ ε[οντα

- [και μ εκελο]νθ υμνειν μακαρων γενος αι[εν εοντων  
 [σφας δ αυτ]ας πρωτον τε και υστατον αιεν αιιδ[ειν  
 35 [αλλα τι η μ]οι ταυτα περι δρυν η περι πετρην  
 [τυνη Μουσα]ων αρχωμεθα ται Δι πατρι  
 [υμνευσαι τε]ρπουσι μεγα]ν νοον εντος Ολυμπου  
 [ειρευσαι τα τ] εοντα τα τ εσσομενα προ τ' εοντ[α  
 [φωνη ομ]ηρευσαι των δ ακαματος ρει αυδη  
 40 [εκ στοματω]ν ηδεια γελαι δ[ε] τε δωματα πατρος [  
 [Ζηνος εριγ]δουποιο θεαν οπι λειριοεσση  
 [σκιδναμενη]ι ηχει δε καρη νιφοεντος Ολυμπο[υ  
 [δωματα τ' αθ]ανατων αι δ αμ[β]ροτον οσσαν ιεισ[αι  
 [θεων γενο]ς αιδοιον πρωτον κλειουσιν αοι[δη  
 45 [εξ αρχης ους Γ]αια και Ουρανος ευρυς ετικτε  
 [οι τ εκ των εγ]ενοντο θεοι δωτήρες εαων  
 [δευτερον αυτε] Ζηνα θεων πατερ ηδε και ανδρων [  
 [αρχομεναι θ υ]μ[ν]ευσαι θεαι ληγουσι τ αιιδης  
 [οσσον φερτα]τος εστι θεων καρτει τε μεγαιστος [  
 50 [αυτις δ ανθρ]ωπων τε γενος κρατερων τε Γιγαν[των  
 [υμνευσαι τερ]πουσι θεων νοον εντος Ολυμπο[υ  
 [Μουσαι Ολυμπ]ιαδες κ[ου]ραι Δ[ι]ος αιγιοχοιο

Fr. 3.

		σ]τιβαροισ[ι
	οβ]ρ[ιμοι	μεγ]αλωι επ[ι
	Γυ]ης θ' υπερ]ηφανα	ουρα]νου εξε]γενοντο
150	α]π ωμων [ εκαστ]ωι πεντη]κοντα	

1. Unless a title was prefixed, this was the first line of the column, but the margin above is lost.

28. γηρυσασθαι: so K, Rz.; μυθησασθαι CDEFGHI and, with v.l. γηρυσασθαι, EL.

29. κουραι: so Rz. with CDGKL; κειναι EF, μουσαι HI.

30. εδον: so CDEFGHI, Rz.; εδων KL.

31. The initial lacuna is of the same length as in the three preceding lines and therefore appears to suit δρεψασθαι (Rz. with KL) better than δρεψασθαι (CDEF, &c.). The papyrus agrees with the MSS. in reading μοι αυ]δην, in place of which Rz. reads μ' αιιδην.

32. Only the bases of the first four letters of κλειοιμι are preserved, but they show clearly that that, which is the reading of HI and some of the MSS. of Aristides, not κλυοιμι (D and others), stood in the papyrus. What was the first word of the line is of course quite uncertain. The MSS. give the unmetrical θεϊην, for which Rz. adopts Goettling's emendation θέσπιω (cf. Homer, *a* 328, *θ* 498, and θεσπέσιον or -ιην in Lucian, *c. Hes.* 1, Aristid. xxviii. 23).

34. υστατον: so D from an original υστερον, Rz.; υστερον other MSS.

37. εντος: so DEFI, Rz.; αιέν GHKL.

41. θεαν: so GHI, Rz.; θεων DEFKL.

42. [σκιδναμενη]: D's spelling κιδν. cannot be certainly excluded.

43. [δωματα τ: so L, Rz.; the unmetrical δάμιτ' of other MSS. (δάματα D) would not fill the space.

44. αιδοιον: -ων HI.

46. δωτήρες: in the MSS. the correct spelling is only found superscribed in D; δοτ. others.

48. ληγουσι: so DHI, -σαι others. The line, which has been variously emended, was condemned as spurious by Guyet and is bracketed by Rz.

49. The initial lacuna is sufficiently filled with οσσον, though D's τσσσον is not impossible. Only part of the cross-bar of the second τ of φερτα]τος is preserved, but this suffices to exclude φέρτερος (GHI). καρτει is the spelling of EFGHI; κράτει Rz. with DKL. Cf. P. Ryl. 54 which has κα]ρτους in place of κράτεος in *Theog.* 647.

51. θεων: Διός MSS.

2091. HESIOD, *Opera.*

27 x 19.9 cm.

Third century.

The greater part of an entire column is preserved in the following fragment, together with the beginnings of a few lines from the bottom of the column succeeding. The sloping hand, somewhat above the medium in size, is very similar to that of 223 (Part II, Plate 1) assigned to the first half of the third century, and is no doubt of about the same date. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision and punctuation (high and medial dots) have been inserted with freedom, very likely by the corrector who has made occasional alterations in the text; so far as the colour of the ink goes they are seldom distinguishable, but the elision-marks and circumflex accents tend to be clumsy. Rough breathings are mostly acute-angled, as in 223; an exception occurs in l. 318.

Textually this fragment of the *Opera*, in age second only to 1090, is not without interest. While generally supporting the medieval tradition it shows, as usual, no sort of consistency in its agreements. Several good readings seldom found in the MSS. are presented; in one place (l. 325) the rare lection has been substituted for the common one by the second hand, to which the one new

reading is also due (l. 329). A variant hitherto attested only by a manuscript of Stobaeus appears in l. 317.

ρηιδ[ιη] δη επει[τα] π[ε]λει  
 ουτος με[ν] π[α]ναρισ[τος]  
 φρασσαμενος τα κ' ε[πει]τα  
 295 εσθλος δ αυ κακεινο[ς]  
 ος δε κε μητ αυτος ν[ο]ρηι  
 εν θυμωι βαλληται [  
 αλλα συ γ ημετερη[ς]  
 εργαζευ[ς]] Περση δια[ν]  
 300 εχθαιρηι φιλεηι δε σ [  
 αιδοιη· βιοτου δε τη[ν]  
 λειμος γαρ τοι παμπα[ν]  
 τω δε θεοι νεμεσωσι και [  
 ζωη κηφηνεσσι κοθου[ροις]  
 305 οι τε μελισσαων καμ[α]τον ]  
 εσθοντες σοι δ εργα φ[ι]λ ]  
 ] γ ως κε τοι ωραιου βιο[τ]ου ]  
 εξ εργαων δ ανδρες πολ[υ]μηλοι ]  
 309 και τ εργαζομενος πολ[υ] ]  
 311 εργαων δ ουδεν ονειδος α[ε]ργιη δε τ ονειδος ]  
 ει δε κεν εργα[ζ]η[ι] ταχα σε ζηλωσει αεργος ]  
 [π]λ[ου]τευ[τα] πλουτωι δ αρετη και κυδος οπηδ[ει]  
 δαιμονι δ' διο[ς] εησθα το εργαζεσθαι αμεινον  
 315 ει κεν απ αλλ[ο]τριων κτεανων αεσιφρο[να] θυμον  
 [ε]ις εργαων τρεψ[ας] μελ[ε]ταις βιου ως σε κελε[ν]ω·  
 αιδωσ δ ουκ α[γα]θη κ[ε]χρημ[ε]νον ανδρα] κομιζειν·  
 αιδωσ η τ' ανδρας μεγα σ[ι]ν[ε]ται ηδ οινυ[η]σιν  
 [α]ιδωσ τοι προς ανολβ[ι]ηι θα[ρ]σος δε προς ο[λ]β[ι]ωι  
 320 χρηματα δ' [ο]νυχ αρπακτα θεο[σ]δοτ[α] πολλων αμεινω  
 ει γαρ τις και χερσι βιη μεγαν [ο]λβον] εληται  
 η ο γ' απο γλωσσης λη[ι]σσειται [ο]ια τε πολλα  
 γεινεται ευτ αν δη κερδος μ[ο]ρον εξαπατησηι  
 ανθρωπων αιδω δε τ' αναιδειην κατοπα[ζ]ηι·

325 ρεια <sup>δ</sup> [[τ]]ε μιν μαυρουσι θεοι· μινυθουσι δε οικoi  
 ανερι τωι παυρον δε τ' επι χρονον ολβος οπηδ[ει]  
 ισον δ' ος θ' ικετην· ος τε ξεινον [κ]ακον ερξηι·  
 ος τε κασιγνητοιο εου ανα δεμνια βαινη[ι?]

κρυπταδιης ευνης αλοχ[ου] παρακαίρια ρεζων  
 330 [ος] τέ τευ αφραδιης αλιταίνεται ορφανα τεκνα·  
 ος τε γονηα γεροντα κακωι επι γηραος ουδωι  
 [νει]κειηι χαλεποισι καθαπτόμενος επεεσσι  
 [τωι] δ' η τοι Ζευσ αυτος αγαίεται· ες δε τελευτην  
 εργαων αντ αδικων χαλεπην επεθηκεν αμοιβην·  
 335 αλλα συ των μεν παμπαν ξεργ αεσιφρονα θυμον·

Col. ii.

εσθλον	375 ος δε γυναικι
χρηιζειν	μουνόγενης
αρχομ[ενου]	φερβέμ[εν]
369 μεσσο[θι]	γηραιος
373 μ[η]	ρεια δε κ[ε]ν
αιμυλ[α]	380 π[λ]ειων

296. μητ αυτος: so DK Aristotle and most other citations, Rz(ach); μήθ' αὐτῷ the majority of the MSS.

299. A sigma has apparently been crossed out (by the second hand?) after εργαζεν, i. e. there was a careless confusion with Ζεύς.

307. The stichometrical figure is far from certain, all that remains being two oblique strokes, the lower one slightly curved upwards, on the edge of the papyrus; but their significance is otherwise not evident (they are not obeli), and the supposition that this verse was counted as the 300th causes no difficulty. Lines 93, 120, and 169 are not found in the MSS., and possibly in addition to those lines the papyrus, which omits ll. 310 and 370-2, excluded some others, e. g. ll. 210-11; but the stichometry of papyri tends to be rather loose: cf. 2093. 305, n.

κε: so most MSS.; καί DL and F corr., κεν IOQ.

309. και τ: so MSS., Stobaeus; και Rz. with Lennep.

εργαζομενος: so DEG and others, Stob.; -νοι CFH, Rz.

310. The papyrus omits the line ξεσσει ιδε βροτοίς· μάλα γάρ στυγέουσι αεργούς with P. Rainer CD Stob.; Rz. brackets it.

312. κεν: so MSS.; κε Rz.

316. [ε]ις: so MSS.; ες Rz.

317. *κομίζειν*: so Stob. cod. A, a reading approved by Reiz and Hermann; *κομίζει* MSS. and other citations, Rz.

318-19. The papyrus gives the lines in the traditional order; they are transposed by Rz. with Peppmüller. In l. 318 the *ν* of *σίνε[ται]*, originally omitted, has been inserted, much reduced in size, probably by the corrector. The supposed accent is possibly a mark of length.

319. *ανολβίη . . . ο][β]ωι*: so P. Rain. CDH Stob., Rz.; *ανολβίην . . . δλβον* EFGIKL, &c., Tzetzes.

323. *γεινεταί*: *γνεταί* P. Rain. DEFGKLM, *γιγνεταί* Rz. with INOPQ.

324. *αιδω*: so P. Rain. F; *αιδως* other MSS.

*αναδειην*: so IKLMQ; *αναδείη* P. Rain. DEFG, *αναδείη* OP, and with *ι* subscript added later HN. The papyrus reading is intermediate between the correct *αιδω . . . αναδείη* and the corrupt *αιδως . . . αναδείην*.

*κατοπαζή*: so Rz. with IKL, &c.; *κατοπαζει* DFGH.

325. *τε*, the original reading, is that of the MSS. except D, which agrees with the corrector's *δε* (so too Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* iv. 81, *Anecd. Ox.* i. 264. 32, Rz.).

*οικοι*: so the bulk of the MSS.; *οικον* Rz., a reading found in Vindob. 242 of the fifteenth century and a Florentine codex of the fourteenth century.

327. A rough breathing may be lost above *ός* both here and in l. 331; in l. 330 it is partially visible.

*ερέη*: so FG (*ερ* over erasure, and v.l. *ρέξη*), Rz.; *ερέει* EIKL, &c., *εέρξει* D.

328. *βαινη[ι]*: so Rz. with Vindob. 242 (v.l. *-νοι*); *βαίνοι* DEFGI, &c., *βαίνει* HLO. The surface of the papyrus is rubbed and the iota adscript may have been written, though there is no trace of it.

329. *αλοχου*, as originally written, is the reading of the MSS.; for the new variant *αλοχω*, which implies punctuation after *ευνης*, cf. e.g. Homer, *ν* 314 *μηκέτι μοι κακά ρέξετε*.

330. *αλιταίνεταί*: so MSS.; *αλιταίνη'* Rz.

332. *[νεί]κειη*: so most MSS., Rz.; *νεικείη* IKL. FGH add *τ'* after *καθοπτόμενος*. There is no sign of a *ν* after *επεισσει*, but the papyrus is rubbed and *ν* was possibly written.

333. *δ' ητοι*: so Rz., cf. D *δὲ ἦτοι*; *δήτοι* other MSS. That a short horizontal dash above *α* of *αγαιεταί* is rightly taken for a partially effaced smooth breathing is uncertain.

369. The papyrus agrees with the bulk of the MSS. in omitting ll. 370-2 *μισθός δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ . . . ἀπιστία ἄλεσαν ἄνδρας*: cf. Proclus 230. 7 *γ* *τούτους δὲ τινες τοὺς στίχους ἐξέβαλον. ὁ δὲ Πλούταρχος ἐγκρίνει*. Line 370 is cited by Aristotle, and the three verses are accepted by Rz.

2092. PINDAR, *Oli.* ii.

Fr. 1 10.5 x 10 cm.

Late second century.

Of Pindar's extant Epinician poems the only papyrus hitherto published is 1614, of the fifth or sixth century; a welcome addition to this is now made by the following fragments, which carry back the tradition several hundred years farther. They come from four consecutive columns, and cover much of the second Olympian ode, of which the earlier portion is preserved also in 1614. The text is in two hands, the change occurring in Col. ii somewhere in the seven lines

lost between ll. 46 and 54. The first hand is upright and more laboured than the other, which is an example of the sloping oval type common in the latter part of the second and in the third centuries. Neither of these hands suggests a date later than about the year 200. Accents (ll. 19, 67), signs of elision (ll. 115, 120), and stops (high, ll. 14, 17; low, l. 16) have been inserted sparingly; there is also one instance of the sublinear hyphen (l. 66), and a coronis to mark the beginning of a new strophe (l. 83). These additions may well have proceeded in large part, at least, from the corrector who has here and there made textual alterations.

As a product of the age to which the archetype of the medieval MSS. and the extant scholia are referred, the testimony of the papyrus is of peculiar interest. Apart from a few slips the text is, like that of 1614, close to that of the best manuscripts. Without showing, as usual, any very pronounced relationship, it seems to have been nearest to that of A. Noteworthy readings occur in ll. 13, 56-7, 69, 86, 117, and especially 112, where a long-standing crux is removed. In supplementing lacunae the text of Schroeder (Teubner, 1908) has been utilized.

## Col. i (Fr. 1, Col. i).

	[ευφρων] αρου[ραν] ετι πα	
	[τριαν] σφισιν κομισον	
	ν	
	[λοιπ]ω γενει τω δε πεπραγμενων	15
	[εν δικ]αι τε και παρα δικαν	
5	[αποι]ητον ουδ αν	
	[Χρον]ος ο παντων πατηρ	
	[δυνα]ιτο [θ]εμ[ε]ν εργων τελος	
	[λαθα] δε ποτ[μ]ω συν ευδαιμοι γενο[ι]τ αν	
	[εσλω]ν παρ ὑπο χαρματων	
10	[παμ]α θνασκει παλινκοτον δαμασθεν	20
	[οταν] θεου μοιρα πεμπηι	
	[ανε]κας ολβον υψηλον	
	[επετ]αι δε λογος ευφρονος	
	[Καθ]μοιο κουραις· επα	
15	[θον] αι μεγαλα πενθος	
	[δε πι]τνει βαρυ.	



[κρεσσ]ονων πρ[ο]ς αγαθων  
 [ζωει] μεν εν Ολυμπιοις 25  
 [αποθα]νοίσα βρο[[<sup>μ</sup>ντ]]ωι  
 20 [κεραυν]ου τα[υε ]

Col. ii (Fr. 3, Col. i+Fr. 1, Col. ii).

23 lines lost

[εξ ουπερ εκτεινε Δαιον μοριμος υιο]ς  
 45 [συναντομενος εν δε Πυ  
 [θωνι χρησθεν παλαιφατον] τελεσεν 40  
 7 lines lost

2nd hand τιμ[ω]μενος Αδραστιδαν 45  
 55 θαλο[ς] αρωγον δομοις  
 οθεν [σπερματος εχον  
 τι ριζαν πρεπει  
 τον Α[ι]νησιδαμου  
 ενκ[ω]μιων τε μελεων  
 60 λυρα[ν] τε τυγχανεμεν  
 Ολ[υ]μπιαι μεν γαρ αυτος  
 γερας [εδεκτο Πυθωνι  
 δ ομο[κ]λαρον ες αδελφειον

Col. iii (Fr. 2+Fr. 3, Col. ii+Fr. 4, Col. i).

Ισθμοι τ[ε] κοινοι Χαρι 50  
 65 τες ανθ[ε]α τεθριππων  
 δυαδεκ[α]δρομων  
 άταγον [το δε τυχειν  
 πειρωμ[ε]νον αγωνιας  
 αφροσυ[ν]αν παραλνει  
 70 ο μαν [πλουτος αρεταις  
 δεδα[ι]δαλμενος  
 8 lines lost  
 80 [γας ετεισαν τα δ εν ταιδε Διος] αρχαι  
 αλιτρα [κατα γας δικα

ζει τις εχθρ[αι] λογον φρασαις α[ν]αγκαι 60  
 ισαις δε νυ[κ]τεσσι αιει  
 ισαις δ εν αμ[ε]ραις αλι  
 85 ον εχοντε[ς] απονεστερον  
 εσλοι δε[[<sup>κ</sup>ρ]]ονται βιο  
 τον ου χθ[ο]ν[α] ταρασσον  
 τες εν χερος [ακμαι  
 ουδε ποντιο[ν] υδωρ  
 90 κενεαν παρ[α] διαιταν αλ 65  
 λα παρα μεν τιμι[ο]ις  
 θεων οιτινες εχαι  
 ρον ευ[ο]ρκια[ι]ς  
 αδακ[ρ]υν νεμονται  
 95 [αιωνα ται δ απροσορα  
 τον ε[κ]χεοντι πονον  
 [ο]σ[ο]ι δ [ετολμασαν εστρις  
 [εκ]ατε[ρω]θι μειναντες  
 [α]πο πα[μ]παν αδικων εχειν  
 100 [ψυ]χα[ν] ετειλαν Διος 70  
 [οδ]ο[ν] [παρα Κρονου τυρ  
 [σι]ν ε[ν]θα μακαρων  
 two lines lost

Col. iv (Fr. 5+Fr. 4, Col. ii).

105 θεμα δε χρυσ[ο]ν φλεγει  
 τα μεν χερσοθεν απ α  
 γλαων [δ]ενδρεων  
 υδωρ δ αλ[[<sup>ι</sup>]]λα φερβει  
 [ο]ρμοισι των χερας ανα  
 110 πλεκοντι και στεφανους  
 [β]ουλαις εν ορθαισι Ραδαμανθ[υ]ος 75  
 [ο]ν πατηρ εχει μεγας ετ[ο]ι  
 [μ]ον αυτω παρεδρον  
 Πηλευσ τε και Καδμος εν τοισ[ιν] αλεγονται

- 115 [Αχ]ιλ[ε]α τ ενεικ' επει  
[Ζ]ηνος ητορ λιταις επεισε μα[τηρ] 80  
[ος] Εκτορα σφαλε Τροιας  
[α]μαχον αστραβη κι [ ]  
[ον]α Κυκνον τε θανατω [π]ορευ  
120 [Αο]υς τε παιδ' Αιθιο  
[πα πο]λλα μοι υπ α[γκω]  
[νος ω]κεα βελη [ ]  
[ενδον] ετι φα[ρετρας ]  
φ[ι]ωαναεντα συνετοισιν ες 85  
125 [δε το παν] ερμηνεων  
χι[ατι]ζει

2. σφισιν κομισον: the correct spellings. Most MSS. omit the *ν* of σφισιν and CE double the *σ* of κομισον.

4. τε is omitted by C.

5. ουδ αν: ουδέ A.

9. [εσλω]ν, in place of which CDE give εσθλων, was most probably the spelling of the papyrus, as in l. 86. παρ for γαρ is a curious slip; cf. l. 67.

11. πεμπη: so 1614 (-πη) and most MSS., Schr(oeder); πέμψη A, Ty. Mommsen, Bergk<sup>4</sup>.

12. [ανε]κας: so the better MSS.; v.l. αναβασ<sup>1</sup>.

13. ευφρονος is a hitherto unknown reading; ευθρονοισ MSS. and 1614.

17. [κρεσσ]ονων sufficiently fills the space; κρεισσ. DN.

19. There can be little doubt that βροντω was originally written, though both *ν* and *τ* are broken. Part of a deleting stroke through the remains of the *τ* is visible, and presumably the *ν* was similarly cancelled. βρόμφ rightly MSS. and 1614.

44. No allowance has been made in the twenty-three lines assumed to be lost at the top of this column for the superfluous verse φιλέοντι δέ Μοῖσαι athetized by Aristophanes but found in all MSS. except those of Triclinius and also in 1614. It may easily have been included, for though the column is already longer by two lines than Col. iii, this is accounted for by the closer spacing of the first hand, which continued as far as l. 46 at least.

*ς* of υιο]ς is immediately above *ν* of τελευσεν, but it would be unsafe to draw any inference as to the spelling μοριμος or μορισμος.

46. τελευσεν: so ACD, τέλευσεν 1614 and B (rightly), τελέσας E. 1614 fails from this point.

56-7. εχον]τι: so most MSS. and Didymus; εχοντα, which was perhaps the reading of Aristarchus, is found as a v.l. in E and some others and is commonly preferred.

67. άταγον: another singular error (cf. l. 9); l. αγ.

69. αφροσυ]αν: this reading, though known from the scholl. and adopted by Mommsen (-νάν), occurs in none of the MSS., which have δυσφροσύναν (or -νας). δυσφρονών Schr. with Dindorf (παραλ. δυσφ.).

71. δεδα[ιδαλ.]: δαιδαλ. DE.

83. The paragraphus and coronis should have been inserted above, not below, this line.

84. εν: so MSS.; om. Schr. with Mommsen.

86. εσθλοι CD (cf. l. 9). δερκονται is the reading of the earlier MSS. except A, which has δέκονται (so Schr.). In the papyrus the letter after ε, most probably an ρ, has been crossed out, and a κ seems to have been written above, which is unexpected; perhaps κ in the original text was inadvertently included in the deletion. That the correction was made by the second hand is uncertain.

96. The slight remains suggest ε[κχ. (AE) rather than δ[κχ. (BCD, Schr.) but are indecisive.

108. The misspelling of αλλα seems to have been a mere inadvertence; a conversion from αμα cannot be supposed.

110. στεφανους: so most MSS., Schr.; -νοισ N and v. l. in C.

111. [β]ουλαις εν ορθ. : βουλαίσιν ορθ. CN, βουλαίς ορθ. D.

112. πατηρ: so most MSS.: δ π. EN.

In reading μεγας the papyrus confirms the conjecture of Pauw; cf. Schol. Α δ δέ Διδυμος επί του Κρόνου καθιστά τὸν λόγον· ὃν ὁ μέγας πατήρ πάντων ὁ Κρόνος ἔτοιμον καὶ ἀχώριστον ἔχει πάρεδρον. The MSS. mostly have γὰς or γῆς, N giving παῖς as a v. l. μέγας was adopted by Schr. in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.*<sup>5</sup>, but abandoned in his Teubner edition, where he prints the unintelligible and unmetrical γὰς.

114. Between this and l. 115 the words πόσις ὁ πάντων ῥέας ὑπέρατον ἐχοίσας θρόνον, which in the papyrus would have occupied two lines, have dropped out. Whether the omission was noticed or not cannot be determined, the margins on both sides being defective.

115. [Αχ]ιλ[ε]α is required by the space, as in AB.

117. Εκτορα σφαλε: so A, on which Mommsen remarks *haud credas negligentiae debere sed antiquitatis traditum esse*; Ἐκτορ' ἔσφαλε others, Schr.

118-19. The division κ[ι]ον]α is indicated by the size of the lacuna at the beginning of l. 119.

### 2093. SOPHOCLES, *Ajax*.

Fr. 2 10.3 × 13.6 cm.

Late second or early third century.

The extant tragedies of Sophocles are not yet at all strongly represented in papyri, and of the *Ajax* the only fragment that has appeared is 1615, a small piece from a fourth-century leaf of a book. 2093 is both older and rather more extensive. It consists of two fragments, one containing beginnings of some lines apparently from the top of a column, the other, separated by a considerable interval, including parts of two columns, of which the second is complete at the foot. This column consisted of twenty-seven lines, while the first two columns of the roll contained fifty lines between them, and an average of twenty-five to twenty-six lines is required by the fact that Fr. 2. ii ends with l. 307. The size of the column was therefore very similar to that of 1174, the *Ichneutae* papyrus, but this roll is hardly to be regarded as one of a series uniform with that, for

though the script is analogous in type it is distinctly different, and, moreover, the lection-signs frequent in 1174-5 are here absent. Occasional alterations have been made by a second hand. The textual quality of the papyrus does not seem to have been high, to judge from the present sample, but one or two readings of interest occur.

	Fr. 1.		Fr. 2, Col. i.	
	ε[γω] σφ [απειργω γνωμα]ς και προς τε [ λειας αδα]στα		εχ]ειν [ ] ξυνη[ων μειζο]ν κακ[ον ατω]μεσθα νυν	
55	εν[θ] εισπ[εσων κυ[κ]λωι ρα[χιζων [σ]σ δ[[ο]]ιους Ατ[ρειδας τοτ αλλο]τ εγω δε φο[ιτωντ ωτρυνον] [ κ[α]πειτ επειδη		] οπως λεγεις 270 ] τηι νοσαι ε]ν κακο[ις φρονουντα]ς ηρεια ξ[υνων κανεπνευσ]ε της ν[ο]σ[ου ] κακ[ηι 275 ] πα[ρος 4 lines lost	
60	62 [τους] ζωντ[ας 64 τους [δ] αλ[δρας 63 ↓ πο[ιμνας 66 — δειξω ]νι ω]ς			

## Fr. 2, Col. ii.

σα[λπιγγος  
ο δ [ει]π[ε] πρ[ο]ς με [  
ξ  
γυναι γυναικι κ[ο]σμο[ν η σιγη φερει  
καγω μ[[ε]]θουο εληξα ο δ ε[σσυθη] μονος  
295 και τας εκει μεν ουκ εχω [λεγειν παθας  
εσω δ εσηλθε συνδετους αγ[ων] μου

ταυρους κυνα[ς βο]τηρας ευκ[ερων τ αγραν  
[και] τους μεν [ηυχεν]ειζε [τους δ ανο] τρεπων  
[εσφα]ζε караχι[ζε] τους δε δεσμιους  
300 [ηικι]ζετ ω[σ]τε φωτας εν π[οιμναις] πιτων  
τ[ε]λος δ απα[ιξας] δια θυ[ρων] σκιαι τινη  
λογους ανεσπα τους με[ν] Ατρειδων κατα  
τους δ αμφ Οδυσσει ξ[υντιθεις] γελων πολυν  
οσην κατ αυτων υβ[ριν] εκτεισαιτ ιων  
305 γ̄ καπειτ ενα[ιξας] αυθις [εσ] δομους παλιν  
[ε]μφρων μολις π[ω]ς ξυ[ν] χρονωι καθισταται  
και πληρες ατη[ς] ως διοπτειει στεγος

57. *δοιους* has apparently been corrected (by the second hand?) to *δισσους*, for though the deletion of the first *ο* is indistinct, there is above the line on the edge of a lacuna a vestige of ink which suits the top of *σ* and would be otherwise unaccounted for. *δισσούς* is the reading of all MSS., the epic form *δοιοί* being alien from the tragic vocabulary.

58. *τοτ*: *στ* MSS.

63-5. The papyrus transposes ll. 63 and 64 and omits l. 65, but the omitted line was evidently inserted subsequently at the foot of the column, its place being marked by the conventional marginal symbol at l. 64. Below this, between ll. 63 and 66, there is another marginal symbol, a short horizontal dash joined on the right by circle or half-circle, the meaning of which is obscure. At the beginning of l. 64 *τους* [δ] appears in place of the traditional *ως*. None of these variations is acceptable.

67. The marginal entry, apparently an abbreviated word ending with ]ντ and a suspended letter, is likely to belong to a note referring to the previous column; to which hand it is due is uncertain. ω of ω[ς] is very doubtful.

293. *γυναικι*, the original reading, is that of Arist. *Pol.* 1260<sup>a</sup> 30; the corrector's v. l. *γυναιξι* agrees with the MSS. and Stob. *Flor.* 85. 1.

294. The amended reading is that of the MSS.

296. *εσω*: so MSS.; *εσω* Pearson with Dindorf.

297. A vestige of the letter after *εν* is unfortunately indecisive as between *ευκερων*, the reading of the MSS., and Schneidewin's conjecture *εθερον*, which is accepted by Jebb and Pearson. The remains are perhaps rather more suggestive of *ε* than *κ*, but they may be deceptive.

299. *καραχιζε*: so L; *καρρ.* A, &c., edd.

301. *απα[ιξας]*: so L (*απαξας*), Pearson (*απαξ.*); *υπαξας* (so Jebb) and *επαξας* are other readings.

303. *ξ[υντ.]*: *συντ.* MSS., edd.

305. *ενα[ιξας]*: *απαξας* L, *επαξας* A, &c., Jebb, Pearson, *εσαξας* Nauck with Morstadt. *ενασσειν* is otherwise unattested, but that is perhaps an argument for rather than against *εναξας* here.

With regard to the stichometrical figure opposite this line, it cannot be inferred with any certainty that there were other omissions in the text besides that of l. 65, or that the lines of the choral odes were divided otherwise than in the MSS.; cf. 2091. 307, n.

2094. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra*.

Fr. 5 21 x 5.8 cm.

Second century.

These fragments come from three columns, separated by large intervals. Fr. 1 gives parts of a few lines, apparently from the top of a column, but not much of the margin is preserved; Frs. 2-4, of which Fr. 2 is badly worm-eaten, are from the bottom of a column; Fr. 5, which is complete above but imperfect at the foot, shows that the column contained thirty-five lines at least, and it may have been continued for several lines further. There is a margin of some 4 cm. at the top of Fr. 5 and a similar depth of margin at the bottom of Frs. 2-4, though it is not clear that this was here its full extent. In Frs. 1-4 the upright, informal hand is of a medium size, but in Fr. 5 it has become smaller and more compact, with rather greater tendency towards cursive forms; the space between lines is also reduced. A date in the second century, not later probably than about the middle of it, is strongly indicated. Stops in the high or medial position are used, and breathings, accents, and marks of elision and quantity have been inserted with a frequency proportionate to the difficulty of the author; one instance occurs of the *diastolé* to separate two words (l. 1348). That these additions are due to the original scribe is possible though uncertain; a variant in a different but not obviously later hand has been interlineated at l. 935.

Only one other papyrus representative of the *Alexandra* has so far come to light, the small fragments at Munich published by A. Hartmann in *Philologus*, lxxvi. 228-33. Their editor thinks that these are more likely to be of the first century than the second, but in any case they are not far removed in date from the rather more considerable pieces here recovered. These, like the Munich fragments, tend to agree with the MSS. (AB) assigned by E. Scheer to Class I, and in the main confirm the soundness of the medieval tradition; at the same time they bring a few otherwise unrecorded readings of interest (ll. 588, 935, 1365), of which one at any rate, *τέταρτοί τ' αἶαν* for *τέταρτοι γαῖαν* in l. 588, should find acceptance. For the collation given below Scheer's edition has been utilized, but in supplementing lacunae I have not adopted his departures, to which the papyrus gives no support, from the text of the MSS.

## Fr. 1.

[Κηφευς δε και Πρ]άξαν[δρος ου ναυκληριας  
[λαων ανακτες α]λλ ανώ[νυμοι σποραι  
[πεμπτοι τεταρ]τοί τ' αια[ν ιξονται θεας  
[Γολγων ανασσης] ὦν [ο μεν Λακων οχλον

590 [αγων Θεραπνης] θάτε[ρος δ απ Ωλενου  
[Δυμης τε Βουραιο]ισιν η[γεμων στρατου  
[ο δ Αργυριππα Δαυνί]ων [παγκληριαν  
. . . . .

## Frs. 2-4.

[ους τηλε Θερμυδρου τε Καρπα]θου θ' ορ[ων  
925 [πλανητας αιθων Θρασκιας π]έμφει κυ[ων  
[ξενην εποικησοντας οθνειαν χθον]α.  
[εν δ αυ Μακαλλοις σηκον εγχωροι μεγ]αν  
[υπερ ταφων δειμαντες αιανη θεον  
[λοιβ]αισι[ι] κυδα[νουσι και θυσθλοις βοων  
930 [ο δ ιπ]ποτέκ[των] Δαγ[αριας εν αγκαλαις  
[εγχος π]εφρ[ι]κώς και [φαλαγγα θουριαν  
[πατρων] ὄρκον εκτί[νων ψευδαμοτον  
[ον αμφι μήλ]ω[ν τω]ν δι[ορικτητων ταλας  
[πυργων] Κομα[ι]θους [συμπεφυ]ρμενων στρ[ατωι  
[.]ενων.  
935 [στεργοξυν]άιμων είνεκε[ν] νυμφ[ε]υματων  
[Αλοιτιω ετλ]η την Κνδ[ω]νίαν Θράσω  
[ορκωμοτησαι τον τε Κρησ]τών[ης] θεον  
[Κανδαον η Μα]μερτον οπλ[ι]τη[ν] λυ]κον  
[ο μητρος εντος] δελφύ[ος] στυγνην] μαχην

## Fr. 5.

1345 [αλκη νεανδρ]ος εκπρεπέστατος γένο[υ]ς [  
[η δ αντι τουτων] τάρρ[ο]θον βοηλά[την]  
[τον εξαπρυμνο]ν στέρφος εγχλαινούμενον [  
[στειλασα λιστροι]ς αιπυν, ήριψεν πάγον.  
[τον η παλιμφρω]ν Γοργας εν κλήροις θεῶν  
1350 [καθιερωσει πημ]άτων αρχηγέτις.  
[αυθις δε κερκοι Τ]μῶλον εκλελοιπότ[ε]ις.  
[Κιμψον τε και χρύ]σεργα Πακτωλού ποτα  
[και ναμα λιμνης ε]νθα Τυφῶνος δάμαρ

- [κευθμωνος αι]ν[όλεκτρον ενδάνει μυχον  
 1355 [Αγυλλαν Αυσονιτ]ιν ει[σ]εκόμασαν  
 [δεινην Διγυστινο]ισι τοις τ' αφ αιμάτων  
 [ριζαν γιγαντων Σι]θωνων κεκτημενοις·  
 [λογχης εν υσμι]νησι μιξαντες πάλην·  
 [ειλον δε Πισαν και δορίκτη]τον χθονα  
 1360 [πασαν κατειργασαντο την Ομ]βρων πέλας  
 [και Σαλπων βεβωσαν οχθηρ]ων πάγω[ν  
 [λοισθος δ εγειρει γρυνος αρχ]αίαν έριν  
 [πυρ ευδον ηδη το πριν εξαπ]των φλογι·  
 [επει Πελασγους ειδε Ρυνδακου] ποτων  
 1365 [κρωσσοισιν οθνειοισι βαψαντας] μέρος·  
 [η δ αυθις οιστρησασα τιμωρου]μένη  
 [τριπλας τετραπλας αντιτισ]εται βλαβας  
 [πορθουσα χωρας αντιπορθμ]ον ηίδνα·  
 [πρωτος μεν ηξει Ζηνη τωι Λα]περσιωι  
 1370 [ομωνυμος Ζευς ος καταβατη]ς μολων  
 [σκηπτωι πυρωσει παντα δυσμ]ενών στᾶθμα·  
 [συν ωι θανουμαι καν νεκροις] στρώφωμένη [·  
 [τα λοιπ ακουσω ταυθ α νυν μελλ]ω θροείν·  
 [ο δευτερος δε του πεφασμενου κελ]ωρ  
 1375 [εν αμφιβληστροις ελλοπος μυ]νδου δικην  
 [καταιθαλωσει γαιαν οθνειαν μο]λων  
 [χρησμοις ιατρου συν πολυγλωσ]σωι στρατωι [·  
 [τριτος δ ανακτος του δρυηκο]π[ο]ν γενο[ς]  
 [την τευχοπλαστιν παρθενον Βραγχ]η[σ]ί[αν]

588. τεταρ]τοί τ' αι[ν] : this may well be correct; τέταρτοι γαιαν MSS., Edd.

592. The lacuna is sufficiently filled by A's reading Ἀργυρίππα, but -παν (BCDE) is not excluded.

926. χθον]α : so ABE, Sch(eer); κόνην CD.

935. στεργοξυν]αίμων is novel, the MSS. agreeing with the v.l. added by the second hand -ξυνείων. In relation to the marriage of Alcmena and Amphitryon, who were cousins, the original reading is not without point. There is a further departure from tradition in είνεκε[ν], in place of which the MSS. have ούνεκεν (-κα BCD); on the other hand they give είνεκ' in l. 850 (ούνεκε' Sch. with Steph.).

936. A vestige of ink on the edge of a hole in which most of the υ of Κλυδ. is lost seems more likely to be a remnant of a grave accent than of an inserted letter; D has Κλυδ.

1347. ε of στερφος was converted from ρ.

1349-50. Considerations of space, though not conclusive, are rather in favour of supposing that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in reading τον (δν Sch.); as between καθιερωσει and -σε (Sch.) there is practically nothing to choose.

1354. ενδανει : so A, Sch.; ενδάνει B, εὐδάνει DE, ενδύνει with v.l. εὐδανει C.

1356. αιμάτων : αίματος MSS. The papyrus reading was perhaps caused by an anticipation of γιγάντων in the next verse.

1357. κεκτημενοις : so MSS.; πεπαμένοις Sch.

1358. υσμι]νησι : so MSS.; -ναισι Sch.

1365. μέρος : γάνος MSS. Of the μ only a small portion of the base remains, but it is no less difficult to see what else can have been written than to account for μέρος.

1378. γενο[ς] : so A (altered to γόνος by the second hand) BC and Paraphrase; γένους E (this may of course have been the reading of the papyrus), γόνος other MSS., Sch.

1379. The acute accent is very uncertain.

## 2095. HERODOTUS, BOOK I.

Width 13.7 cm.

Second century.

This text and the four which follow (2096-9) are fragments from Herodotus, an author who has occurred rather less frequently in the papyri than might have been anticipated. Most of those previously published, though not the longest of them (1619), have been brought together and discussed by H. J. Viljoen, *Herodoti Fragmenta in papyris servata*, 1915;<sup>1</sup> and the bearing of the papyrus evidence on the text of Herodotus and the two families of MSS. (the Florentine, primarily AB, tenth to eleventh century, and the Roman, RSV) was briefly discussed in the introduction to 1619 (Part XIII, pp. 181-2). The conclusions there stated by us are endorsed by the fresh data presented below, all coming from the second and third centuries. Clerical errors apart, departures from the medieval tradition are infrequent; a considerable proportion consists of small variations in the order of words. RSV are sometimes supported, but the prevailing tendency is towards agreement with the more ancient family.

2095 preserves the lower portions of two consecutive columns, written in a rather small neat hand of the oval type, with a slight slope; its date is likely to fall well within the second century. Punctuation is commonly effected by short blank spaces within the line, unaccompanied by paragraphi; in one place a low dot at the end of a line (i. 17) marks a shorter pause. A few corrections by a different hand occur. The compact lettering enabled the scribe to get

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps hardly necessary to observe that the statement attributed to me on p. x of that work rested on a misunderstanding. The nature of the contents of unopened boxes could not of course be foreseen, and any assurance that may have been given applied only to material then in course of preparation for publication.

a good deal into a column, which must have extended to about forty-five lines; the extent of the inscribed surface may be estimated at about  $22 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  cm. The margin preserved below the column measures 4.5 cm. and is not certainly complete, so that a roll over 30 cm. in height is indicated. Some strengthening strips of papyrus, on which some cursive writing is visible, have been stuck on the back.

## Col. i.

[Γυγη και μη φο]βευ μήτε εμε ως σεο i. 9  
 [πειρωμενο]ς λεγω [λογον τονδε  
 [μητε γυναικ]α την [εμην μη τι τοι  
 [εξ αυτης γεν]ηται [βλαβος αρχην  
 5 [γαρ εγω μηχα]νησομ[αι ουτω ωστε  
 [μηδε μαθειν] μιν ο[φθεισαν υπο  
 [σευ] εγω γαρ σε ες το ο[ικημα εν τω κοι  
 [μω]μεθα οπισθε τη[ς ανοιγομενης  
 [θυρης] στησω μετα [δ εμε εσελθον  
 10 [τα [[π]αρεσται]] αυτικα π[αρεσται και  
 [η γυ]νη η εμη ες κοιτον κειται δ[ε\_α]γ  
 [χου] της εσοδου θρονος επι τουτον  
 [των] ιματιων [κατα] εν εκαστου εγδυ  
 [νου]σα θησει κ[αι κατα] ησυχιην πολ  
 15 [λην] παρεξει τ[οι θε]ησασθαι επεαν  
 [δε α]πο του θ[ρονου στ]ε[ι]χη επι την  
 [ενν]ην κατα[α νωτου] τε αυτης [γε]νη.

## Col. ii.

[ων αυτην των προ]ηχθεν[των επιστα i. 11  
 [σθαι ηλθε κα]λεομενος [εωθεε γαρ  
 [και προ]σθεν οκως η βα[σιλεια καλε-  
 [οι φοιτα]ν ως δε ο Γυγης α[πικετο ε  
 5 [λεγε η γυ]νη ταδε νυν τ[οι δυοι  
 [οδου παρε]ουσεων Γυγη δι[δωμι αιρε  
 [σιν οκοτερ]ην β[ο]υλαι τρα[πεςθαι

[η γαρ Κανδα]υλην αποκ[τεινας εμε  
 β[ασ]τ[η]λην  
 [τε και την . . .] . . . ν εχε τ[ην Λυδων η  
 10 [αυτον σε αυτικα ουτω απο]θνησκειν  
 [δει ως α]ν μ[η παντα πειθο]μενος Καν  
 [δουλη] του λ[οιπου ιδης τα μη σε δει  
 [αλλ ητο]ι κεινον γε τον ταυτα βουλευ  
 σαντα δει απολ[λυσ]θαι η [σε τον εμε  
 15 γυμνην θε]ησαμ[ε]νον [και ποιησαν  
 τα ου νομι]ζομε[ν]α ο δε [Γυγης τεω]ς  
 μεν απεθωμαξε τα λεγ[ομενα με  
 τα δε ικε]τευε μη μιν α[ναγκαιη εν  
 δ[[ε]]ειν διακριναι τοιαυ[την αιρε]σιν  
 20 ουκ ων δη επειθε αλλ ε[ωρα αναγκαι  
 ην [α]ληθεως προσκειμ[ενην η του  
 δ[εσπ]οτην απολ[λ]υμαι [η αυτον υπ αλ  
 λω]ν απολλυ[σθα]ι αιρε[εται αυτος

i. 10. π[α]ρεσται, which was written out of its place, has been cancelled, probably by the original scribe. The letters have been lightly crossed through individually, and dots have been placed above them. αυτικα is absent from the MSS.

11. κοιτον: κοιτῶνα RSV.

ii. 3. προ[σ]θεν: so PRV; πρόσθε others, H(ude).

5-6. It is of course impossible to decide whether δυοι οδοι or -ων -ων stood in the papyrus.

8. Κανδαυλην: Κανδαύλεα MSS., H.; cf. l. 22 δ[εσπ]οτην and, for other instances of the avoidance of the Ionic acc. in Herodotean papyri, 2096. Frs. 10-12. iii. 11 A]ραξην, 1619. 176 Καμβουσην.

9. The nature of both the original reading and the correction is very uncertain. βασιληην is the ordinary lection, and this perhaps is what was inserted above the line. The original ν shows signs of alteration: perhaps it was merely crossed through.

13-14. βουλευ[σ]αντα: βουλευσάμενον RSV.

15. θεησαμ[ε]νον: θησ. CRSV.

17. απεθωμαξε: απεθῶνυ. PRSV.

18-19. The second ε of εν[δε]ειν has been crossed through by the second hand, bringing the papyrus into agreement with the MSS. ενδέειν H.

20. αλλα: the corrector who inserted a λ over the line evidently took the letter after αλ in the text for α, but owing to a hole the actual remains are equally consistent with λ.

ε[ω]ρα: so RSV; ὄρα P, ὄρα others, H.

21. προσκειμ[ε]νην: προκειμ. MSS.

22. δ[εσπ]οτην: cf. l. 8, n.

## 2096. HERODOTUS, BOOK I.

Column about 17 x 6.5 cm. Late second century.

The following scattered fragments from a roll containing the first book of Herodotus are in a fine bold hand of the sloping oval type, dating perhaps from towards the close of the second century.  $\mu$  is broad with a shallow curve, much as in the Bacchylides papyrus, and the breadth of  $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$  is also noticeable;  $\xi$  is made with three distinct strokes, the central one being like a small comma. At the end of a line  $\nu$  is occasionally written as a horizontal stroke over the preceding vowel, and the shorter lines are frequently filled with the usual wedge-shaped symbol. One instance occurs of an accent (Frs. 2+3. 7) and of a mark of quantity (Fr. 4. 4), added subsequently perhaps by a hand which has made some corrections in the text and is partly responsible for the punctuation; the paragraphi seem to be original, but the coronis at Frs. 10-12. iv. 11 and v. 8 evidently is not. The lower margin had a depth of at least 7 cm. The text was not distinguished for its accuracy, and shows a good many small errors, some of which have been removed by the corrector. It is generally against the RSV family where this is unsupported. A few variations from the traditional order are noticeable (Frs. 2+3. 13, Frs. 10-12. iv. 26, v. 22).

## Fr. 1.

α]νξή[θηναί· 58  
[τουτων δη ω]ν των [εθ  
[νεων το με]ν Αττ[ικου

## Frs. 2+3.

δε Κροισον [ταδε εγινε  
το· ην οι πα]ις του και 85  
προτερον [επεμνη  
σθην τα μ]εν αλλα επι  
5 [ε]ικης αφων[ος δε εν τη  
ων παρελθουση ενε  
στοι ο [Κροισος το παν εσ  
αντ]ον επεποιηκεε  
αλλα [τε επιφρα]ζομε

## Fr. 4.

[του δε]ε κ[α]κοδ[α]ι[μο 87  
[νιη] αιτιος δε τουτ[ων  
[εγ]ενετο ο Ελλην[ων  
[θεο]ς· επ[α]ρας εμ[ε] στρα  
5 [τευ]εσθαι ουδεις [γαρ  
[ουτω]ς ανοητος ε[στι] ος  
[τις πο]λεμον π[ρο] ειρη

10 ν[ος και δη και εσ Δελ  
[φους περι αυτου επε]  
[πομφεε χρ]η[σομενους  
[η δε Πυθιη ο]ι ει[πε ταδε  
[Αυδε γεν]ος βασιλ[ευ πολ  
15 [λων μεγα] νηπι[ε Κροισε  
[μη βουλε]ν πολυευ[κτον  
[ιην ανα] δωματ ακ[ουειν  
[παιδος φ]θ[εγγομεν]ου το

## Fr. 6.

[απηγεετο] τωι [Αρπαγωι 118  
[μετα δε] ως οι [επαλιλλο  
[γητο κα]τεβα[ινε λε  
[γων ως π]εριεσ[τι τε ο παις

5 [και το γε]γονος [εχει κα  
[λως τωι τ]ε γαρ π[οιημε  
[νωι εφ]η λεγων [εσ του

## Fr. 7.

[ηι μουν]ωι ο]ν οι εγγιν[ε 132  
[ται αρασθ]αι αγαθα ο δ[ε  
[τοισι πασι] τε Περσησι

## Col. i.

τη]ν ταχιστην πορευεο 209  
οπι]σω εσ Περσας και ποι  
ει ο]κως επεαν εγω

## Fr. 5.

[Κροισωι] ο δ[ε ακουσας 91  
[συνεγν]ω ειναι[ι εου  
[του την] αμαρτ[αδα και  
[ου του θε]ου κατ[α

## Fr. 8.

ατρεκ[εως ου γαρ ετελεω 160  
θη· Κ]υμαιοι γαρ ως εμα

## Fr. 9.

[και ο]π[ι]σθε αυτις της πο 191  
[λιος ταξ]ιας ετερους τη  
[εξι]ει εκ [της πολιο]ς ο πο  
[τα]μος π[ροειπε τωι στρα  
[τωι οταν] [διαβατον το ρεε  
[θρο]ν ιδ[ωνται γενομενον  
[εσιε]ν[αι ταυτη εσ την πο  
[λιν ο]ν[τ]ω τε δη ταξ[ιας και

## Frs. 10-12.

## Col. iii.

δια]βας τον Αραξην  
ηιε [εσ Περσας φυλαξων  
Κυρω]ι τον παιδα Δαρει  
[ο]ν· Κ]υρος δε προελθων 211  
5 απο [του Αραξ]εω] ημε

## Col. ii

4 lines lost

5 [Κυρος μεν δο]κεων >  
 [οι Δαρειον επι]βουλευ  
 [ειν ελεγε τ]αδε τωι  
 [δε ο δαιμων] π[ρο]ε  
 [φαινε ως α]ν[τι]ος [μεν  
 10 [τελευτησειν αυ]του τ[α]ν  
 [τηι μελλοι η δε] βασιλη  
 [ιη αυτου περιχ]ωρει >  
 [ες Δαρειον αμει]βεται  
 [δη ων ο Τστασπ]ης τοισ  
 15 [δε ω βασιλευ μ]η ειη  
 [ανηρ Περσης] γεγονως  
 [αστις ται επιβου]λευει  
 [ει δ εστι απολ]οιτο ως  
 [ταχιστα ος αντ]ι μεν  
 20 [δουλων εποιη]σας ε  
 [λευθερους Περσας] ει  
 [ναι αντι δε αρχεσθ]αι >  
 [υπ αλλων αρχειν απα]ν

## Col. iv.

2 lines lost

[τα Μασσαγετων τ]ωι  
 α[ννομα ην Σπαργ]α  
 5 π[ισης η δε πυθμ]ε  
 υ[η τα τε περι την]  
 [στρατιην γεγονο]

210 ρης [ο]δον [εποιει] τας  
 Κρο[ισου] υπο[θηκ]ας· με  
 τα δε [τα]υτα Κ[υρου] τε και  
 Περσ[ε]ων το[υ] καθαρου  
 10 στρατου απε[λασ]αντος  
 οπισω επι το[ν] Δ[ραξ]η  
 λειφθεντος δε του αχρη  
 ιου επελθουσα των Μασ  
 σαγετων τριτημο >  
 15 ρις του στρατου τους τε  
 λειφθεντας της Κυ  
 ρου στρατιης εφονευ  
 ε αλεξομενους και >  
 την προκειμενην  
 20 ιδοντες δαιτα ως εχει  
 ρωσαντο τους εναν  
 τιους κλιθεν[τες] εδ[αι]  
 [νυν]το· πλη[ρωθ]ειν  
 [τες δε] φορβη[ς και οι]ν[ο]ν  
 25 [ηυδον] οι δε Π[ερσαι] ε  
 [πελθο]ντες πολλους >  
 [μεν σ]φρων εφονευ  
 [σαν π]ολλω δ ε[τ]ι πλευ  
 [νας] εζωγρησ[αν] και  
 30 [αλ]λη<sup>ου</sup>ς και τον [τη]ς βα

## Col. v.

[ριδ]ι του στρατου [κατυ  
 βρι]σ[ας]· [[ου]]δε ταυτ[α] ου ποι  
 ησεις ηλιον [επομν]ν  
 212 μι τοι τον Μα[σ]σαγετε  
 5 ων δεσποτην η μην

[τα και τα περι το]ν  
 π[αιδα] πεμπουσα]  
 10 κ[ηρυκα] παρα Κυρο]ν  
 ε[λεγε] ταδε απληστε]  
 > α[ιματος] Κυρε μη]  
 δ[εν] επαρθηις τωι] γε  
 γ[ονοτι] τωιδε προ]η >  
 15 γ[ματι] ει αμπελι]νωι  
 κα[ρπωι] τωι περ αυ]τοι  
 εμ[πιμπλα]μενοι  
 μ[αινεσθε] ουτως  
 ασ[τε] κατιοντος του  
 3 lines lost  
 [εκ]ρ[ατησας] παιδος  
 του εμ[ο]ν [αλλ ου] μαχη  
 25 κα[τα] [το] κ[αρτερον] νυν  
 ε<sup>υ</sup>  
 ων εμ ε<sup>υ</sup> [παραινε  
 ουσης] [[ε<sup>υ</sup>]] [υπολαβε] τον  
 λογον απ[οδους] μοι  
 τον παιδα απιθι εκ της  
 30 χωρης αζ[ημιος] Μασ  
 σαγετων [τριτημο

υ[ω] ισχυροτατην γε  
 υ[εσθαι] και δη και πυνθα  
 υ[ομαι] ουτω δη γε  
 υ[ομενον] πρωτα  
 5 μ[εν] γαρ λεγεται αυ  
 του[ς] διασταντας ες αλ  
 λη[λους] τοξευειν με  
 τα [δε] ως σφι τα βελεα  
 εξ[ετετοξευτο] συμπεσον

σε[[ο]]  
 [[ση]] εγω και απληστον  
 εοντα αιματος κορε  
 σω· Κυρος μεν επεων  
 213 > ουδενα τουτων ανε  
 10 νειχθεντων εποιεε  
 το λογον· ο δε της βασι  
 λης Τομυριος παις >  
 Σπαργαπισης ως μι  
 ο τε οινος ανηκε και  
 15 εμαθε[[ν]] ινα ην κα >  
 [κο]ν δεηθεις Κυρου ε >  
 [κ τ]ων δεσμων λυ >  
 [θη]ναι ετυχε· ως δε  
 [ελυθ]η ταχιστα και των  
 20 [χειρ]ων εκρατησε >  
 [διε]ργαζεται εωτον  
 [και] ουτος μεν δη τρο  
 214 [πωι] τοιουτωι τελευ  
 [ται] Τομυ[ρις] δε ως οι Κυ  
 25 [ρος] ουκ εσηκουσε[[ν]] συλ [ ]  
 [λεξασα] πασαν τ]ην ε [ ]

## Col. vi.

συν[εσταναι] μαχο  
 15 με[νους] και ουδετε  
 ρου[ς] εθελειν φευγειν  
 τελ[ος] δε οι Μασσαγε  
 ται [περιεγεγοντο]  
 η τ[ε] δη πολλη της  
 20 Π[ερσικης] στρατιης  
 αυ[του] ταυτη διεφθα  
 ρ[η] και δη και αυτος



10 τας [τησι αιχημισι τε  
κα[ι τοισι εγχειριδιοι  
σι σ[υνεχεσθαι χρονον  
τε [δη επι πολλων

Κ[υρος

## Unidentified Fragments.

Fr. 13.

εστ[  
τα[

Fr. 14.

Col. i.

]νε

Col. ii.

ω[

τ[

Fr. 1. The arrangement of lines adopted is of course conjectural.

Frs. 2 + 3. 12 sqq. The point of division between these lines, which are on Fr. 3, is not certainly fixed.

14. βασιλ[ευ πολλων: πολ. βασ. MSS.

Fr. 5. The point of division between the lines is again uncertain; the same is true in the case of Frs. 6 and 9.

Fr. 6. 6. The reading and interpretation of the marks above the line are very doubtful.

Frs. 10-12. i. 2-3. l. ποι[εε. The margin below the remains of the letters is lost, but it is clear from Col. ii that this was the last line of the column.

ii. 12. περιχορεύει C, -οι S, -χωρεύοι RV.

13-14. The lacuna in l. 14 is of the same length as in ll. 13 and 15, and is amply filled without οι, which H(u)de omits with d. ἀμείβετ' οι RSV, -ταί οι others. ταῖσδε is the reading of the bulk of the MSS. τοιοῖσδε P, τοισίδε H.

17. ἐπιβου[λευει: so BRSV; -σει ACP, -οι d, -σειε H. with Krüger.

19-20. μεν [δουλων: δ. μ. RSV.

iii. 1. Probably the first line of the column, but the upper margin is lost. Ἀραξην was presumably written, as in l. 11.

6. A horizontal stroke on the edge of the papyrus, followed by a dot, seems likely to represent the cross-bar of an ε, implying an original εποιε in the text; cf. i. 2-3. Stein wished to insert κατά before τας.

10. (τοῦ) στρατοῦ Krüger. ἐπελεύσαντος RSV.

11. Ἀραξην: -ξεα H. with MSS., which however give Ἀράξην at l. 1 above. Cf. 2095. 8, n.

13. ἐπελθουσα: ἀπ. R (v. l. ἐπ.) SV.

22. δ[αυνητο, the reading of RSV, would hardly fill the space.

30. ἀλλ[ης was presumably a mere inadvertence, but the η has not been crossed through.

iv. 26. εμεν: μεν MSS., which also place εδ before παραινέουσης, not after, as originally written in the papyrus.

29. Considerations of space leave no doubt that της, not τηςδε της (MSS.), must have stood here, but of course an alteration may have been made by the corrector.

v. 2. It is clear that ουδε was first written, not ου δε. CP insert μή after δε, reading ου in place of ου after ταῦτα, as do several others. S has ου μή, which suits the space less well than ου (so E and the correctors of AB, H.).

4. ι of τοι has been converted from ν, i. e. τουτον was the original reading. τε for τοι V, om. S.

5. μην: so MSS.; μέν H.

6. In inserting σε the corrector made a slip which apparently he himself amended.

9. ανειχθεντων: ανειχεθ. B.

11. βασιληης RSV.

12. τῆς Τομ. SV<sup>1</sup>.

15. The ν of εμαθεν has been marked with a dot above and also crossed through; cf. l. 25, where there is a similar correction, though there the dot is absent. In the earlier papyri of Herodotus ν ἐφέλευστικόν is, as a rule, not written; cf. Viljoen, Herod. Fragm. in Pap. servata, p. 51. προ]σθεν in 2095. ii. 3 is an exception.

18. A blank space of the width of a letter was left between τ and ν of ετυχε; there is no sign of erasure.

19. The MSS. add τε after ἐλύθη.

22. ουτος μεν δη: δη ουτος μεν MSS.

24. οι: ο RSV, οι δ P.

26. πασαν, which RSV omit, was evidently in the papyrus.

## 2097. HERODOTUS, BOOK I.

15.3 × 12.5 cm.

Third century.

A fragment containing the bottoms of two narrow columns, written in a medium-sized sloping hand which is not a very good or early specimen of the type and suggests a date about the middle of the third century. Stops in two positions occur, as well as paragraphi, inserted apparently by the original hand. The remains are insufficient to establish the quality of the text.

	Col. i.		Col. ii.
			φευγ[οτας και εοντας
			64 ηδη τωι πολεμωι καθυ
			περτερουσ [Τεγετητων
			επι [γ]αρ Λεα[ν]το[ς και Η
			5 γησικλεουσ εν Σπα[ρτηι
			τουσ αλλουσ πολε[μους
			ευτυχεοντες οι [Λακε

[των παιδ]ας λαβων  
 [και κατασ]τησας ες  
 10 [Ναξον και] γαρ α[υ]τη[ν]  
 [ο Πεισιστ]ρατος κα[τ]ε  
 [στρεψα]το π[ο]λεμωι  
 [και επε]ρεψε Λυγ'δαμι  
 [δ]αιμονιοι προς Τεγεη [  
 [τ]ας μουνους προσεπτα[ι  
 10 ον· το δε επι προτερον [  
 τουτων και κακονο [  
 ματατοι ησαν σχεδον [  
 [α]παντων Ελληνων [  
 κατα τε σφεας αυτους  
 15 και ξεινοισι απροσ[[α]]μι

i. 10. The τ is formed differently from those of the text, and is therefore attributed to a second hand. Perhaps the whole syllable ταν was written above the line, but the suggestion of an ο or the loop of an α on the edge of a hole after the τ may be due to the scaling of the ink of the crossbar.

14. The supposed comma between the γ and δ of Λυγδαμι is uncertain, but without it there is more ink than the letters will account for; alternatively a mistake of some kind may be supposed.

ii. 8. The purpose of the stop is to disconnect προς Τεγ. from the preceding participle.

13. [α]παντων is demanded by the spacing: πάντων MSS. Cf. 2099. ii. 2 and 1092. vi. 15, where I adhere to the reading α[[παντα]; that adopted by Viljoen, *Herod. fragmenta in pap. servata*, p. 28 α[[ρησας is inadmissible on account of the wrong division.

15. The superfluous α has been cancelled by a long vertical stroke as well as by an overwritten dot. Hude writes ἀπόσμεικτοι, the MSS., like the papyrus, omitting the ε.

## 2098. HERODOTUS, BOOK vii.

Width of column about 5·7 cm.

Late second or early  
third century. Plate III  
(Cols. ix-xi).

Remains of nine columns, of which the last seven are consecutive, a single column being missing after each of the other two. This was a handsome roll, the hand in size and style resembling that of 2096; cf. also 1364. The depth of the narrow columns, which were of twenty-nine to thirty lines in length and are set 2·5 cm. apart, can be estimated at about 19 cm.; there is a broad upper margin, measuring 6 cm., so that if the lower one was more or less equal the height of the complete roll was approximately 31 cm. Paragraphi (vi. 4) and high dots were used for purposes of punctuation, and an elaborate coronis at ix. 17 marks the end of a section. These are perhaps original, but a second hand, apparently, is in evidence at vi. 9. On the verso is a much mutilated land-survey list, of which the following, from the top of the last column, is a specimen:

<sup>1</sup> λιβδς ἐχόμενα(ι) ἐκ τοῦ Τήρου Σάμου μολυβδ[ουργοῦ (sc. κλήρου) . . . ἐν (?) <sup>2</sup> τῷ ἄνω γύει (cf. P. Ryl. 207 (a). 3) [(ἄρ.) . <sup>3</sup> (2nd h.) ιε (ἔτους) δι(ἄ) Πατερμουθ(λου) ὑδροπ(αρό-χου) Κίσσου χ(όρτω) αἰ π(ροκείμεναι). <sup>4</sup> (1st h.) βορρᾶ Λ (cf. P. Ryl. 207 (a). 3: ἐχόμεναι is perhaps meant) (πρότερον) Κάστορος γεομέτρου (l. γεωμ.) [(ἄρ.) . <sup>5</sup> (2nd h.) ιε (ἔτους) δι(ἄ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) Πατερμουθίου κριθῆ αἰ π(ροκείμεναι). The names Θεοξενίδης and Χεναμμώνις occur, and there is mention of μετὰ διάστημα (l. -στημα: cf. P. Ryl. cit. 27, 31) τροχοῦ Λολλίου λεγομένου and of τοῦ Κεδρηλείτου. The Emperor whose fifteenth year is repeatedly referred to, is most probably Gallienus, in whose reign a papyrus found with this one is dated, and a fairly secure *terminus ante quem* is thus obtained for the recto, which can hardly have preceded it by less than a generation and may well be half a century or so earlier.

The text seems to have been of fairly good quality; like 2095-8 it tends to support the Florentine family.

Col. i.

[πληρωσα]ν υ[ε]ας  
 [εξηκον]τα μογ[ι]ς  
 [δε] αναχθεντ[ε]ς  
 [προσεμε]ιξα[ν] τη

168

Col. ii lost.

Col. iii.

[σαντο το]υς Ελ[λη]  
 [νας Κρητε]ς δ[ι]ε ε  
 [πειτε] σφεα[ς] παρ  
 [ελαμβ]ανον· [οι ε  
 5 [πι του]τοισι ταχ[θεν]  
 [τες Ελ]ληνων [ε  
 [ποη]σαν το[ι]ον  
 [δε π]ε[μψαν]τες  
 [κοι]νη θεοπ[ρο  
 10 [πους ε]ς Δελφ[ους  
 [τον θε]ον ε[π]ει

169

Col. iv lost.

Col. v.

πικομενους στο  
 λωι μεγαλωι ες Σε  
 [κ]ανιην πολιορ  
 [κειιν ε]π[ι] [ε]τεα πεντε  
 8 lines lost  
 [ποντας ο]ιχεσθ[αι]  
 [ως δε κατα Ιη]πυ[γι  
 15 [ην γενεσθαι] πλε  
 [οντας υπολαβ]ογ

170

Col. vi.

νεσθαι Ἰηπυ[γας  
 Μεσσαπιους [αν  
 τι δε ειναι υ[ησιω  
 τας ηπειρω[τας  
 5 απο δε Ἰριη[ς πολιος  
 τ[ας α]λλας οικησαι  
 [τας δ]η Ταρ[αντι  
 [νο]μι χρονω[ι υστε  
 πολλω  
 ρον εξαν[ισταν  
 10 τες προσε[πταισαν  
 μεγαλω[ς ωστε φο  
 νος Ελλ[ηνικος  
 μεγαστ[ος ουτος  
 δη εγ[ενετο παν  
 15 των [των ημεις  
 ἰδμ[εν αυτων τε  
 Ταρ[αντινων και  
 Ρ[ηγιων οι υπο  
 Μ[ικυθου

Col. viii.

5 lines lost  
 β[ατοισι εστε το δευ  
 τ[ερον ερημωθει  
 σ[της Κρητης με  
 τ[α των υπολοι  
 10 π[ων τριτους αυ  
 τ[ην νυν νεμεισ  
 θ[αι Κρητας η

Col. vii.

επιτροπος Ρηγι  
 ου κατελειπτ[ο]  
 ουτος ος περ εκπε  
 σων εκ Ρηγιου και  
 5 Τεγεην την Αρ  
 [κα]δων οικησας  
 [ανε]θηκε εν Ολυμ  
 [πι]ηι τους πολλους  
 [αν]δριαντας· αλ  
 10 [λα τ]α μεν κατα Ρη  
 [γινου]ς τε και Τ[αραν]  
 [τιν]ους του λογου  
 [μοι π]αρενηθηκη  
 [γεγονε] ες δε τη[ν]  
 15 [Κρητη]ν ερημω  
 [θεισαν ω]ς λεγουσι  
 [Πραισιοι εσ]οικιζε  
 [σθαι αλλου]ς τε αν  
 [θρωπους και μα]λι  
 20 [στα Ελληνας] τρι  
 [τηι δε γενε]ηι με[τα  
 [Μινων τελευτ]η

171

Col. ix. Plate III.

[αγγ]ελους· εν δε  
 [τωι Ισ]θμωι ησαν  
 [αλισμ]ενοι προβου  
 [λοι της] Ελλαδος  
 [αραιρη]μενοι απο  
 5 [των πο]λιων των  
 [τα αμειν]ω φρονε  
 [ουσεων πε]ρι την

[μεν δη Πυθιη υπο  
 μ[νη]σασα ταυτα  
 15 εσ[χε βουλομενους  
 τι]μωρειν τοισι  
 Ελ[λησι Θεσσα]λοι 172  
 > δε υ[πο αναγκαι  
 ης τ[ο πρωτον ε  
 20 μηδ]ισαν ως διε  
 δεξ[αν οτι ου σφι  
 η]νδανε

Col. x. Plate III.

μενους τοσουτον  
 προ της αλλης  
 Ελλαδος μουνους  
 προ υμεων δει  
 5 απολ[εσθαι] β[οη  
 θεειν [δε ου βουλο  
 μεν]οι αναγκαι  
 [η]ν [

Col. xi. Plate III.

ες [Αλον αποβας  
 επ[ορευετο ες Θεσ  
 σαλην τας νεας  
 αυ]του καταλιπων  
 5 κ[αι

173

i. This fragment must have been nearly, if not quite, the beginning of the column.

v. 2. l. Σ[ικ]ανην.

vi. 5. Ὑρηλής ABC.

6. οικησαι is the reading of the MSS., but Schaefer's correction οικίσαι, which H(ude) adopts, is of course possible.

7. τας is required to fill the space; δs ABC.

9. πολλω, which was originally omitted, is in the MSS.

vii. 2. κατελειπτ[ο]: so H.; καταλ. MSS.

3. ος περ: ὡσπερ RSV.

ix. 6. φρονε[ουσεων]: προνοουσεών RSV.

x. 1. τοσουτον: so RSV; -το others, H.

6. ου βουλομεν[οι]: RSV have βουλομένουσιν (without ού), which is also possible.

## 2099. HERODOTUS, BOOK viii.

7.7 × 8.5 cm.

Early second century.

The hand of this small fragment is a good specimen of the round upright type, and is assignable to the first half of the second century. The letters though not large are rather widely spaced, and care is also shown by the small ornamental finials with which main strokes are often furnished. *a* retains the capital form. Some corrections have been made by a second hand, but the punctuation, which is effected by paragraphi and dots in the high position, has the appearance of being original.

If the quality of the text may be judged by so small a sample, inadvertent omissions were more than usually frequent. The peculiar variants of RSV receive no support.

Col. i.		Col. ii.	
γεγον]α	22	[ουτω δη α]μα ηλιωι	23
[τε και οτι η εχ]θρη		<small>σκιδναμ]ενω</small>	
[αρχηθεν προς] τον		α[πασα η σ]τρατιη[[ι]]	
[βαρβαρον απο] υ̅		επλ[εε ε]πι το Αρτε	
4 lines lost		μεισιον· επισχον	
[ψε δοκειν εμ]ρι		5 τες δε εν τουτωι	
10 [επι αμφοτερα] >		τωι χωρωι μεχρι	
		μεσον ημερης <sup>το</sup> α >	
		πο τουτου επλε	
		η	
		ον εσ Ιστιαιαν· απι	
	10	κομενοι δε την	
		πολιν εσχον των	
		Ιστιαιων και της	
		Ελλοπιης μοι[ρης]	
		γης δε της Ιστ[ιαι]	
	15	ωτ[ι]δος τα[ς] παρα	

i. 2-3. η εχ]θρη [αρχηθεν: αρχηθεν ή εχθρη MSS.; αρχη cannot be read at the end of l. 2. RSV omit the article before εχθρη, but apparently it stood in the papyrus.

ii. 2. σκιδναμ]ενω, which has been inserted in a cursive script, is in the MSS., which have *pāsa* not *āpasa*. There is not room for α[λης πασα (cf. n. on l. 3).

3. επλ[εε: so P, H(ude); επέπλεε ABC, επλωεν RSV. It is clear that αλης, which in the MSS. precedes επί, was omitted, though possibly it may have been afterwards inserted.

7. 1. μεσου. The corrector's το is in the MSS.

8. επλεον: επλων RSV; cf. l. 3, n.

9. ες was inserted in small letters, apparently by the original hand. The η above the line is more probably secondary.

12. Ιστιαιων: so S, H.; Ιστιαίων others.

13. ελλοπιης RSV.

14. Ιστιαίητιδος RSV.

## 2100. THUCYDIDES, BOOKS iv, v, viii.

Fr. 8 28.5 × 17 cm.

Second century.

More rolls than one must have been the source of these fragments coming from various chapters of the later books of Thucydides. They are in a rather small upright hand, in some respects not unlike that of 16 (Part I, Plate 4), but of a later period; the date indicated is about the middle of the second century. Iota adscript is as a rule written, *ν* *εφελκυστικόν* neglected, as in 1376. Short lines are sometimes filled at the end with a horizontal dash which here takes the place of the more normal angular sign. Some columns show a larger number of letters to the line than others, and in the length of the columns too there seems to have been more variation than usual: Fr. 4. i was apparently shorter by about five lines than the average. Paragraphi commonly accompanied by blank spaces within the line are used for punctuation, and a high dot is also sometimes resorted to. A cursive note in the margin of Fr. 2 is presumably by a second hand, but no other insertion occurs which needs to be attributed to this; alterations in the text are rare.

The bearing of the papyri upon the text of Thucydides and the evaluation of the MSS. was fully discussed in Part XI, pp. 156 sqq., in connexion with 1376; cf. K. Hude, *Oversigt ov. d. kon. Danske Vidensk. Selskabs*, 1915, pp. 579 sqq., who is in substantial agreement with our conclusions. Of the two groups into which the best manuscripts fall the chief representatives are the Laurentianus, C, of the tenth century, and the Vaticanus, B, of the eleventh; but in the last fourteen chapters of Book vi, and throughout Books vii and viii, B diverges from the others so much that it practically ranks as a third unit by itself. Papyri have on the whole tended to support the C group before the point (vi. 92) at which B's relation to the rest of the family changes, but subsequently to incline towards B; and 1376, in which substantial portions of Book vii are preserved, while occupying

an intermediate position between B and C, agrees with the former in nearly 50 per cent. of its peculiar readings and in almost all the better of them. The testimony of 2100 falls into line with the rest of the evidence. Here we have a uniform series of fragments from chapters both preceding and following vi. 92. In the earlier chapters, unfortunately less well represented than the later, there are three certain agreements and one probable one with C against B, while the latter is supported against C in but a single doubtful instance (Fr. 5. i. 27). In Book viii, on the other hand, the relation of the papyrus to B and C is much the same as that of 1376. Apart from minor orthographical differences like the use of  $\nu$  ἐφέλευστικόν and  $\tau\tau$  (which in B is usual for  $\sigma\sigma$ ), support of B and C is fairly evenly divided. Readings of C which are evidently or probably superior commonly figure in the papyrus, which, on the other hand, with about an equal degree of frequency sides with B not only where accompanied by other members of the family but where it has previously stood alone (Fr. 8. i. 16, iii. 2, 8, 20 (?), 25, Fr. 11. 3; cf. Frs. 9 + 10. i. 11, where a reading occurs found only in BM). In some of these places B was clearly right, and the readings of more questionable value now deserve further consideration; one or two of them had already been accepted by Stuart Jones, though not by Hude. A coincidence with GM against the rest in a reading of doubtful merit is noticeable at Frs. 9 + 10. ii. 27, and another at Fr. 13. 4 with AEF, where they are probably wrong. No agreements occur with peculiar variants of the later *deteriores* comparable to those which were a feature of 1376.

New variants are found in Fr. 2. 2, Fr. 5. ii. 4, 9, 20, Fr. 6. 2 (corrected), Fr. 8. i. 14, 24, ii. 19, 26, 27, 28, 33, iii. 16, Fr. 12. 2, possibly also in Fr. 1. ii. 5 and Frs. 9 + 10. iii. 10. Of the certain novelties several are obvious errors, and most of the rest are of doubtful value; one, however,  $\xi\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega\upsilon$  for  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$  in viii. 23. 5 (Fr. 8. i. 24) gets rid of a difficulty, and justifies, though it does not actually confirm, Gertz's conjecture  $\text{Ἰώνων}$ , which was adopted by Hude in his last edition (Teubner, 1925).

## Fr. 1.

## Col. i.

πᾶ iv. 15  
[θ]ειν αυτοὺς ἢ ὑπο πλ[ηθ]ῶν  
[β]ιασθεντὰς κρατηθῆναι ε  
[δ]όξε αυτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς στρ[α]τῆ

## Col. ii.

[ε]πιφ[ε]ρε[ιν] τῶι Π[ε]λοπον[η]σῶι iv. 16  
ων στ[ρα]τῶι μ[η]τε κατὰ  
γῆν μ[η]τε κατὰ θ[α]λασσάν οτι  
δ' αν τῶντων παραβ[α]ινῶσι ε

[γ]ους

5 κατεροὶ κ[α]ι οτιοὺν λελυσθαι  
τὰς σπονδ[α]ς εσπεισθαι δὲ αν  
τὰς μεχρὶ ο[υ] επανελθῶσι οὶ εκ  
τῶν Αθην[ων] Λακεδαιμο  
νῶν πρ[ε]σβεις αποστειλαι δὲ  
10 αυτο[υ]ς τριηρῶι Αθηναῖοις  
καὶ [

## Fr. 2.

καταλ[α]μβανουσι καὶ Βρικιν v. 4  
νίας ἐρυ[μα] ἐν τῆι Δεοντινῆι  
κα[ὶ] τῶν [του] δημου τότε εκπε  
σον[των] οὶ πολλοὶ ἦλθον ὡς  
5 α[υ]τοὺς καὶ καταστάντες εκ  
κατ[ῶ] τῶν τειχῶν

## Fr. 3. Col. i.

]. τᾶ[.] . .

## Fr. 3. Col. ii.

[δ]ας εσπε[ε]μψε καὶ εὶ τις v. 18  
[τῶ]ν ξ[υ]μμα[χ]ῶν τῶν Λα  
κεδαιμονῶν [ἐν] Αθῆ  
ναῖς ἐστὶ ἐν [τῶι] δημοσιῶι  
5 ἡ ἀλλοθὶ που [ἦ]ς Αθῆ  
ναῖοι ἀρχουσι [ἐν] δημο  
σιῶι ἀποδόντων δὲ καὶ  
Λακεδ[αι]μονιοὶ καὶ οὶ  
ξυμμα[χ]οὶ ουστῖνας ἔχου  
10 σὶ Αθη[να]ῖοι

## Fr. 4.

## Col. i.

[σ]κοποῦν ο[υ]σα ἐξελ[ε]λοιπε v. 42  
[σαν] τῆς ξυν[θη]κη[s] καὶ ἐνο  
μιζο[ν] ἐξ[η]πατησθαι ὡ[σ]τε  
[χα]λ[ε]πως πρὸς τοὺς πρ[ε]σβεις  
5 [α]ποκρινάμενοι ἀπεπεμ  
ψαν] κατὰ τοιαυτὴν δὴ δια 43  
[φο]ρᾶν ορτ[ῶ]ν τῶν Λακ[ε]  
δαιμονῶν πρ[ο]ς τοὺς Αθῆ

## Col. ii.

ελασσ[ου]σθαι τὸ τε πρῶτον v. 43  
ἀντεῖπε οὐ βεβαιῶς φασ  
κῶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους  
ἀλλ[᾽] ἢ ἄρα Ἀργεῖοις σφισι  
> 5 σπ[ε]ισάμενοι  
3 lines lost  
τοτε [ε]πειδὴ ἡ διαφορὰ εγεγε  
10 νητο π[ε]μ[πει] εὐθυς ἐς Ἀρ

[ναιου]ς οι εν [τ]αις Αθηναίς  
 10 [αυ βουλ]ομενοι λυσαι τας  
 [σπον]δας ευθυς ενεκ[ει]ντο  
 [ησαν] δε αλλοι τε και Αλκι  
 [βιαδης ο Κλεινιο]ν [α]νρη ηλι  
 [και μεν επι τοτε ω]ν νεος  
 15 [ως εν αλλη] πολει αξιωμ[α]  
 [τι δε προγονων τιμωμενο]ς  
 [ωι εδοκει μεν] και αμεινον

γος ιδ[ι]αι κε[λευων] ως τα  
 χιστα επι τ[η]ν ξυμμαχι  
 αν προκαλ[ου]μενους η  
 κειν μετα Μ[αντι]νων  
 15 και Ηλιων ως καιρου οντος  
 κα[ι] αυτος ξυμ[πρα]ξων  
 τα μ[α]λ[ισ]τ[α] [

## Fr. 5.

## Col. i.

I line lost

[τη εμπειρια] Λακεδαιμ[ον]ιοι  
 [ελασσωθεντες τοτε τ]η αν  
 [δρειαι εδειξαν ουχ ησσο]ν πε  
 5 [ριγενομενοι επειδ]η γαρ  
 [εν χερσι εγιγοντο τοι]ς ε  
 [ναντιοις το μεν των Μ]αντι  
 [νων δεξιον τρεπει αυ]των  
 [τους Σκιριτας και τους] Βρα  
 10 [σιδειους και εκπεσοντε]ς οι  
 [Μαντινης και οι ξυμ]μα  
 [χοι αυτων και των Αργειω]ν  
 about 12 lines lost  
 25 ] κα  
 [λουμενοι προσπεσοντε]ς  
 [των Αργειων τοις πρεσ]βυ  
 [τεροις και πεντελοχοι]ς  
 [ανομασμενοις και Κλε]ω  
 4 lines lost

## Col. ii.

v. 72

[μεινα]ντας αλλ[ω]ς επηισαν  
 [οι Λακε]δαιμονιοι ευθυς εν  
 [δοντας] και εστι ους και κα[ταπα]  
 [τηθεντ]ας του μεν μη [φθηναι  
 5 τ]ην ενκαταλ[η]ψιν· ως δε [ v. 73  
 ταυτη ενεδεδωκει το των  
 Αργειων και ξυμμαχων  
 στρατευμα παρερρηγγυν  
 το ηδη και εφ εκατερα και  
 10 αμα το δε[ξ]ιον των Λακε  
 δαιμονιων και Τεγεατων  
 εκυκλουτο τωι περι[ε]χο[ν]τι  
 σφ[ω]ν τους Α[θη]ναιους και [α]  
 αμφοτερωθε[ν] αυτους κιν [α]  
 15 δυνοσ περιεισ[τ]ηκει· τη [α]  
 μεν κυκλο[υ]μενους τη [α]  
 δε ηδη ησσημενους και [α]  
 μαλ[ισ]τ αν το[υ] στρατευμ[α]  
 τος εταλαιπωρησαν ει [μ]η  
 20 [ο]ι γε ιππηις παρ[ο]ντες α[ι]  
 τοις ωφελιμοι ησαν κα[ι]

ξυνεβη τον Αγιw ως ηισθε  
 το το ευωνυμον [σφω]ν πο  
 νουν το κατα του[ς] Μαντι  
 25 νεας και των [Αργειων τους  
 χειλιους παραγγ[ει]λαι παν  
 τι τωι στρατευμ[α]τι χωρη  
 σαι επι το νικ[ω]μενον  
 και γενομεν[ου] τουτου οι  
 30 μεν Αθηναιοι εν τουτωι  
 ως παρηλθε και [εξεκλι]νε  
 απο σφω[ν] το στρ[α]τευμα

## Fr. 6.

Φρυ]νιν ανδρ[α] πε viii. 6

[ριοικον ει αι τε ν]ηες αυτις [εισιν  
 [οσασπερ ελεγον] και ταλλα [η πο  
 [λις ικανη εστι προ]ς την λ[ε]  
 5 [γομενην δοξαν α]παγγει[λαντος  
 [αυτοις ως ειη ταυτ]α α[λ]ηθ[η] απερ  
 [ηκουον τους τε Χι]ους κα[ι] τους  
 [Ερυθραιους ευθυς] ξυμμα[χους  
 [εποιησαντο και] τεσσαρα[κοντα  
 10 [ναυς εψηφισαντ]ο αυτοι[ς] πεμ  
 [πειν ως εκει ουκ] ελασσ[ον] η εξ  
 [ηκοντα αφ ων οι Χ]ιοι ελ[εγον]

## Fr. 8.

## Col. i.

[Αστυχο]ς των τε Ερεσι[ω]ν και viii. 23  
 [των εκ της Μηθυμνης] μετ Ευ  
 [βουλου Χιων νεων αι τοτε κατ]α  
 [λειφθεισαι και ως η Μυτιλ]ηνη

## Fr. 7.

τω]ν Πελο viii. 20

[ποννησιων καταδιωχθ]εισαι  
 [τοτε και εφορμουμεναι ισ]ωι

## Col. ii.

φνοντα απ[η]λθ[ον] και αυτις  
 Κλαζομεναι προ[σε]χωρησαν  
 Αθηναιοις του δ αυτο[υ] θερους 24  
 >—  
 οι τε επι Μιλητωι Αθηναιοι ταις

5 [εαλω φευγουσαι περιετυχ]ον αυ  
[τωι τρεις μια γαρ εαλω υπ]ο των  
[Αθηναίων ουκετι επι τη]ν Μυ  
[τιληνην ωρμησε αλλα την  
[Ερεσον αποστησας και  
10 [τους απο των εαυτου νε]ων  
[οπλιτας πεζηι παραπεμπ]ει  
[επι την Αντισσα]ν και Μηθυ  
[μναν αρχοντ]α Ετεονικον  
[προσταξας και αυ]τος ταις μεθ ε  
15 [αυτου ναυσι και τ]αις τρισι ταις  
[Χιαις παρεπλει ελ]πιζων τους  
[Μηθυμναιους θαρ]σησειν τε  
[ιδοντας σφας και εμ]μενειν  
[τηι αποστασει ως δε] αυτωι τα  
20 [εν τηι Δεσβωι παντ]α ηναντι  
[ουτο απεπλευσε το]ν εαυτου  
[στρατον αναλαβων] ες την Χι  
[ον απεκομισθη] δε παλιν  
[κατα πολεις και ο απ]ο των ξυμ  
25 [μαχων πεζος ος επι] τον Ελ  
[λησποντον εμελλη]σε ιεναι  
4 lines lost  
31 [Αθηναιοι τα τ εν τη Δεσβ]ωι  
[παλιν κατεστησαντο κ]αι  
[πλευσαντες εξ αυτης Κλαζομ]ενι  
2 lines lost  
36 [ελοντες διεκομισαν παλι]ν  
[αυτους ες την εν τηι νη]σωι  
[πολιν πλην των αιτιων] της  
1 line lost

5 εικοσι ναυσι εν τηι Λαδη εφορ  
μουντες αποβασιν ποιησα  
μενοι ες Πανορμον της Μι  
λησιας Χαλκιδαε τε τον Λακε  
δαιμονιον αρχο]ντα μετ ολι  
10 γων παραβοηθησα]ντ[α] αποκτει  
νου[σ]ι και τροπαιο]ν τ]ριτη η  
μεραι υστερον δι]απ]λευσαντες  
εστησαν ο οι Μιλη]σιοι ως ου με  
τα κρατους της γης [στ]α[θ]εν αυ  
15 ειλον και Δεων κα]ι Διομεδω]ν  
εχοντες τας εκ Δεσ[βου Αθηνα]ι  
ων ναυς εκ τε Οινουσσων [τω]ν  
προ Χειου νησων κ[α]ι [εκ Σι]δο[υ]σ  
σης και Πτελεου α ε]ν τηι Ερυθραι  
20 αι ειχον τειχη και εκ [της Δ]εσβου  
ορμωμενοι τον προς τ[ου]ς Χιους  
πολεμον απο των ν[ε]ων επο[ι]ι  
α]ν[τ]ο ειχον δ επιβατας των  
οπλειτων εκ καταλογου αναγ  
25 καστους και εν τε Κ[α]ρδαμυλη -  
αποβαντες και εν [Βο]λισω τους  
προσβοηθησαντας [Χ]ιων μαχη  
κρατησαντες και π[ο]λλους δια  
φθειραντες αναστατα εποιη  
30 σαν τα ταυτηι χωρια και εν Φα  
ναις αυθις αλληι μαχηι ενι  
κησαν και τρ[ι]τη]ι εν Δευκωνιω  
και μετα τουτο ηδη οι μεν Χιοι  
ουκετι επεξ[η]ρισαν] οι δε την  
35 χωραν καλως κατε[σ]κευασμε  
νην και απαθη ουσ[α]ν απο των  
Μη[δι]κ[ω]ν μεχ[ρι] το]τε διεπορ  
θησαν Χιοι γαρ μονοι μετα

## Col. iii.

Δακεδαιμονιους εγω ησθο  
μη ευδαιμονησαν τε αμα  
και εσωφρονησαν και οσωι ε  
πεδιδου η πολις αυτοις επι το  
5 μειζον τοσω και εκοσμουντ[ο]  
εχυρωτερον και ουδ αυτη]ν τ]ην  
25 αποστασιν ει τουτο δοκουσι πα  
ρα το ασφαλεστατον πραξαι προ  
τερον ετολησαν ποιησασθαι  
10 η μετα πολλων τε και αγαθων  
ξυμμαχων εμελλον κινδυ [  
νευσειν και τους Αθην]αιους  
ησθανοντο ουδ αυ]τους αντι  
λεγοντας ετι μετα [την Σικελι  
15 κην ξυμφοραν ως ου πανυ πο  
νηρα σφων τα πρ[α]γματα ειη  
ει δε τι εν τοις αν[θ]ρωπειοις του  
βιου παραλογοις [εσφαλησαν  
μετα πολλων ο]ς τα αυτα εδοξε

20 τα των Αθηναιω]ν ταχυ ξυναν  
αιρεθησεσθαι τη]ν αμαρτιαν  
ξυνεγνωσαν ει]ργομενοις ουν  
αυτοις θαλασση]ς και κατα γην  
πορθουμενοις [ενεχειρησαν τι  
25 νες προς τους Αθηνα]ιους αγα  
γειν την πολιν ουσ αισθομε  
νοι οι αρχ[οντες αυτοι μεν η  
συχασαν Α]στυοχον δε εξ Ερυ  
θρων τον [ναυαρχον μετα  
30 τεσσαρων ν]εων αι παρησαν  
αυτωι κομ[ι]σαντες εσκοπον  
οπως μετρ[ι]ωτατα η ομηρων  
ληψει η αλλ[ω]ι τωι τροπωι κα  
ταπαουσουσι τ]ην επιβουλην  
35 και οι μεν ταυτα ε]πρασσον  
εκ δε των Αθηνω]ν του αυτου 25  
θερους τελευτω]τος χιλιοι

## Frs. 9 + 10.

## Col. i.

[μεν τους Πελο]πονησιους viii. 52  
[οτι πλει]οσι ναυσι των Αθη  
[ναιων πα]ρησαν βουλομε  
[νον δε ο]μ[ω]ς ει δυναίτο πως  
5 [πεισθη]ν[αι] αλλως τε και ε  
[πειδη την εν τη]ι Κνιδωι δι  
[αφοραν περι τ]ων Θηριμε  
[νους σπονδ]ων ηισθ[ε]το τ[ω]ν  
[Πελοπονησ]ιων ηδη γαρ κα

## Col. ii.

[νεσθαι αντι]λ[ε]γοντων 53  
δε πολ[λω]ν και αλλων [περι  
της δημοκρατιας και [των  
Αλκιβιαδου αμα εχθρω]ν -  
5 δι]αβ[ο]ων[τ]ων ως δεινον ει  
η ει τ[ο]υς νομους βιασαμενος  
κατεισι και Ευμολπιδων -  
[κα]ι Κη[ρ]υκων περι τ[ω]ν μν[σ]  
[τι]κω]ν δι απ[ε]ρ εφυγε μ[αρ]τυ

- 10 [τα τουτον το]ν καιρον [ε]ν τη[ι]  
[Ροδωι οντω]ν αυ[τ]ων [ε]γεγε  
νη[το εν] η[ι τον του] Αλ[κ]ιβια  
δο[υ] λογον π[ρο]τερον ει[ρ]ημε  
νο[ν] περι τ[ου] ελευθερουν  
15 τ[ο]υς Α[α]κε[δ]αιμονιους τας α  
πασας πολεις[ς] επηληθευσε  
ο Διχ[α]ς ου [φασκων ανεκτον  
ειναι ξ[υ]νκε[ισ]θαι κρατειν  
βασιλεα των [πολεων ων πο  
20 τ[ε] [κ]αι π[ρο]τ[ε]ρον  
[ρο]μενων και επιθ[ε]ιαζ[ο]ν  
τ[ων] μη καταγειν ο Πεισαν  
δρος πα[ρ]ελ[θ]ων προς πολ  
λην αν[τ]ιλογιαν και [σ]χετλι  
ασμον ηρωτα ενα εκαστον  
15 παραγ[ω]ν των αντιλεγον  
[των ει] τινα ελπιδα εχει σω  
[τ]ηριας τη πολει Πελοπον  
νησιων ναυς τε ουκ [ε]λασ  
σους σφων εν τη θαλασση  
20 αν[τι]π[ρω]μους εχοντων και  
[πολεις ξυμ]μαχ[ι]δας πλε[ι]  
[ους βασι]λεως τε αυτοις και  
[Τισσα]φερνους χρηματα  
[παρ]εχοντων σφισι τε ουκε  
25 [τι ο]ντων ει μη τις πεισει -  
[βασιλεα] μεταστηναι παρα  
[σφας ο]ποτε δε μη φαιησαν  
[ερωτω]μενοι ενταυ[θ]α

## Col. iii.

- και αμα επελπιζων ως και  
μ[ε]τα[β]αλει[ται] ενεδωκε και  
εψηφ[ι]σα[ν]το πλευσαντα τον  
Πεισανδρο[ν] και δεκα ανδρας  
5 [μ]ετ αυτου π[ρα]σσειν οπη αυ  
τοις δοκ[ο]ιη αριστα εξειν τα  
τε προς [το]ν [Τισσα]φερνην και  
τ[ο]ν Αλκιβιαδ[η]ν αμα τε δια  
βαλοντος και [Φρυνη]χον του  
10 Πεισανδρ[ο]ν παρ[ε]λυσαν (?) της  
[αρ]χης και τον ξυναρχ[ο]ντα

## Fr. 11.

- 54 [ται υπε]δεξα[το] [η μην εως αν viii. 81  
[τι των εαυ]του λ[ε]ιπηται ην [  
[Αθη]ναιοις πισ[τ]ευσ[η]ι μη απο [  
[ρησειν αυτου]ς τροφη[ς] ουδ ην [  
5 [δε]ηι τελευτ[ων]τα την ε[α]ν [  
[του στρα]μνην εξαργυρωσαι  
[τας τε εν Α]σπ[εν]δω[ι] ηδη ο[υ]σας  
[Φοι]νικων ναυ[ς] κομει[ε]ν Α[θη]  
[ναιοις και ου Π]ελοπον[νη]σιοις  
10 [πιστευσαι δ αν] μονως [Αθη]ναι

- Σκ[ι]ρωνιδην αντεπε[μ]ψαν  
δ[ε] στρατ[η]γ[ο]υς επι τα[ς] ναυς  
Διομεδοντα και Δεοντα τον  
] τη[ι] Σ[ικ]ελ[ι]αι viii. 96  
15 δε Φρυνηχον ο Πεισ[αν]δρος  
φ[α]σκων [Ι]ασον προ[δ]ουναι  
και Αμοργην διεβα[λε]ν ου νομι  
ζων επιτηδειον [ειναι τοις  
5 [στρατο]πεδου τ[ε] του εν Σα [  
[μωι αφε]στηκο[τος] αλλων τ[ε]  
20 [νεων ουκ ουσ]ων ουδε τ[ω]ν

## Fr. 13.

- τοτ[ε] θρ[α]συτε[ρο]ν εν viii. 103  
[τη] διωξει] απαρασαι πε[ρι]επε  
[σον αυ]τοις και ημε[ραι] υσ  
[τερον αφ]ικ[ο]μεναι ορ[μι]ζον  
5 [ται ες το]ν Ελαιουντα [και τας  
[εκ] της Ιμβρου ο[σαι] κατεφυ  
[γο]ν κ[ο]μιζονται

## Unidentified.

## Fr. 14.

α[  
σφ[  
ω[  
ν[

## Fr. 15.

]νκ[. ]ρο[  
]ωνα[  
] . ολ[

## Fr. 16.

]νουν[  
] . οσεφε[  
] . . . . . [

Fr. 1. i. 3. The lacuna seems well filled without η which is added after βιασθεντας by ABEFM.

ii. 1-2. Πελοποννησιων: -ωι ABFM.

5. τότε λελύσθαι MSS., but the addition of τότε would make the line unusually long.

6. A paragraphus has probably disappeared below τας.



Fr. 2. 2. *δν ἔρυμα* MSS. (*δν* M).

6. The marginal entry, if correctly deciphered, is likely to relate to an omission in the previous column subsequently supplied at the foot; but the reading is far from clear.

Fr. 3. i. The remains of this line, which is opposite the space between ll. 5 and 6 of Col. ii, are too slight for certain identification; *βουλονται αυτοις* near the beginning of § 5 would be not unsuitable.

ii. 5. The line is short and perhaps *οσης*, as written just above and desiderated here by Stahl, stood in the papyrus.

7. *οι*, which B adds before *λακ.*, was possibly written after *και*, but the line is sufficiently filled without it.

Fr. 4. i. 6. *δη: ἦδη* M.

12. *τε ἄλλοι δέ* B.

14. *δν ἔτι τότε* AB.

ii. 2. Omission of *ον* with B would leave the line somewhat short.

4. A mark looking like a diplê stands in the margin just below this line; cf. 2101.

Frs. 1+2. iii. 8, &c., and, for other instances of the use of the diplê in prose papyri, 1356.

Fol. 10. 14 and n.

13. *προκαλ[οιμενος]*, the reading of CG, is of course also possible.

Fr. 5. i. 27. That *τε* was omitted after *των*, with ABEFM, seems on the whole more likely than not.

ii. 4. *μεν*: om. MSS.

8. *παερρήγνυτο* M.

9. *ἦδη ἅμα* MSS.

12. *ἐκυκλοῦντο* ABF.

17. A omits *ἦδη*. A paragraphus may be lost below this line.

20. *γε*: or possibly *τε* which might be connected with the following *και* (there was apparently no paragraphus below l. 21): om. MSS.

Fr. 6. The point of division between the lines of this narrow strip is quite uncertain.

2. *αυτοις* MSS., and evident vestiges of ink above the line presumably indicate that that reading was inserted, though whether the *ο* was enclosed between dots or more letters than one were interlineated is very doubtful; it is also impossible to say whether the original hand or another was responsible for the insertion.

3. *ταλλα*: so B, S(tuart)-J(ones); *τὰ ἄλλα* others, H(u)de).

*η*: or *ει η*, with B.

Fr. 8. i. 9. The supplement is a trifle short in comparison with those of the lines immediately preceding and following, but there is clearly not room for *ἀποστήσας και ὄπλισας*, the ordinary reading. Possibly the omitted words, the loss of which is easily accounted for by the repetition of *-σας και*, were added above the line.

11. *παρπεμ]ει* is the (correct) reading of B, with which the papyrus agrees just below at l. 16, but if *οπλειτας* were written (cf. ii. 24) there would be only one letter's difference with *παρπλ]ει* (so other MSS.), which cannot be excluded. *οπλειτας*, which Dobree wished to delete, was evidently in the text.

14. *ταις*: *ταῖς τε* MSS.

16. *παρπεμ]ει*: so B, edd.; ACEFG add *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν και Μήθυμναν*. M omits *ἄρχοντα . . . παρπέμ]ει*.

17. *θαρρήσειν* B.

22. It seems clear that *πεζόν*, which B alone adds after *στρατόν*, was not in the papyrus. H. omits *πεζόν*, which however is read by S-J.

24-5. *ξυμ[μαχων*: *νεών* MSS., *ἰώνων* H. (Teubner, 1925), with Gertz; Poppo bracketed *ἀπὸ τῶν νεών*. The papyrus reading, which removes the difficulty, is likely to be right.

ii. 1. The paragraphus is doubtful.

10. C's reading *παραβοηθησο[ν]τ[α]* is not impossible.

13. B repeats *ὑστερον* in place of *ἔστησαν*.

16. *εκ*: so H. and S-J. with most MSS.; *ἐκ τῆς* B.

18. *προυχίου* C, *πρὸς χ. c.* Σι]δο[υ]σης may have been written, as in AFM.

19. *ἐκ Πτελεοῦ* MSS.

20. B adds *ἀπῆραν* after *τείχη*. Classen bracketed *καὶ . . . Λέσβου*.

26. [Bo]λίσω: *Βολίσκω* B, edd., *-σσω* other MSS.

27. *τῶν Χίων* MSS.

28. *κρατησαντες*: *νικήσαντες* MSS.

29-30. *αναστατα . . . χωρια*: *ἀνέχωρησαν* M.

33. *οὐ μὲν Χίοι ἦδη* MSS.

iii. 2. 1. *ἠδδ.* (so B, edd.); *εὐδαιμονήσαντες* ACEF(-ἦσ-)GM.

4. *αὐτοῖς ἢ πόλις* M.

5. *τοσσα*: so H. with MSS. except B which has *τοσῶιδε*. *τόσφ δέ* S-J.

*ἐκοσμοῦτο* AEFM.

7. *ει*: *ἐς* B.

8. *ασφαλεστατον*: so B; *-τερον* other MSS., edd.

11. B adds *μεθ' ὧν* after *ξυμμάχων*, and also has *ξυγκινδυνεῖν*. H. follows the reading of the bulk of the MSS., but S-J. adopted Bekker's *ξυγκινδυνεύσειν*.

16. *σφῶν βεβαίως* MSS.

20. *τα* is omitted by B. On the other hand considerations of space favour B's *ξυναναιρεθήσεσθαι* (so S-J.) as against the shorter *ξυναιρεθήσεσθαι* (H.) of the other MSS.

22. *ουν*: so S-J. with the MSS. except B, which has *γούν*, and the latter cannot be excluded though the line would be well filled by the shorter reading. H. accepts Bekker's *δ' οὖν*.

25. *τους*: so B; om. other MSS., H., S-J.

26. *ους* is the reading of the MSS. *οδ* H. with Stahl, and this may of course have been in the papyrus.

36. *Ἀθηναίων* AEF.

Frs. 9+10. i. 5. The lacuna demands *[πεισθη]ν[αι]* (ABEFM, S-J.), not *[πιστευθη]ν[αι]* (CG, H.).

7. *Θηραμένους* BG.

10-11. Wilamowitz would delete *ἐν . . . αὐτῶν*. The *ν* of *αὐ[τ]ῶν*, though broken, is certain. *αὐτῶν* B and M (which omits *ἑντων*), S-J., *αὐτῶ* others, H.

12 sqq. The margin to the left of these lines, preserved in Fr. 10, is about 1 cm. wider than the space normally left between the columns.

15. *τ[ο]υς*: om. CG.

*τας απσσας*: so BC, edd.; *ἀπάσας τὰς* AEFM.

18. *ειναι*: so BCM; *εἶη* AEF.

ii. 2. C omits *και ἄλλων*.

9. *ἔφενγε* M.

13. H. inserts *τὴν* after *πολλήν*.

14. *εκαστον*: so BC, edd.; *ἐκ. αὐτῶν* AEFGM.

16. εἴ τινα B, S-J.; but the papyrus may have had ην (so H.) instead of εἰ, like the other MSS.

24. τε: so MSS., S-J.; δέ Krüger, H.

27. δε: so GM, S-J.; δὴ ABCEF, δέ δὴ H.

φαιησαν: so MSS.; φαίεν edd.

iii. 1. ε[πελπιζων: so ABEFM, S-J.; ελπίζων CG, H. The space suits the longer reading.

5. π of π[ρασσειν is directly under ο of Πεισανδρο[ν, so that the line is adequately filled without ἄν which MSS. other than C add after ὄπη, but αν may have stood in the papyrus.

8. τ[ο]ν: om. B.

10. About ten letters are expected in the lacuna, and it seems unlikely that παρ[ελυσε(ν) ο δημος (ABEFGM) was written. C omits δ δημος and H. conjectures παρέλυσαν, which is a natural alteration with ἀντέπεμψαν following and was possibly the reading of the papyrus.

12. Σκ[ε]ρωιδην: the initial vestiges are very slight and doubtfully identified; BEFM omit the Σ.

13. δ[ε]: om. C.

17. διεβα[λλε(ν) with A is of course equally possible.

Fr. 11. 2. εαν[του: αυ]του (B) is less suitable to the size of the lacuna.

3. πισ[τευση]: so B, edd.; πιστεύητε M, -τεύη others. The remains of the σ are ambiguous, but are slightly in favour of that letter as against η, and the same may be said of the spacing.

6. εξαγγυρωσαι: so CG, edd.; -ριώσαι B, -ρίσαι AEFM.

7. The iota adscript, at first omitted, may have been inserted by the original scribe.

10. This line was perhaps the last of the column, but the surface of the margin below is too much damaged to be trustworthy.

Fr. 12. A more or less arbitrary point of division between the lines of this fragment has been adopted.

1. B's reading οὔτε γὰρ τῆ ἐν Σ. does not suit the remains.

2. και περιμεγαλη: καιπερ μεγάλη MSS., rightly no doubt; περιμεγας does not occur.

3. ουδε | [πω (AEFM) is equally possible.

Fr. 13. As with Fr. 12, the point of division between the lines is conjectural.

4. αφ[κ]ο[μεναι: so AEFM (?); -νοι others, edd.

### 2101. XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia* i.

Height 25.6 cm.

Early third century.

This papyrus consists of one large and two small pieces; the main fragment, with one of the minor ones (iii. 31-6), gives substantial remains of five consecutive columns which cover a portion of *Cyrop.* i. 4, the other small piece having a few lines only from a later chapter. The columns, which are not very tall, are slightly inclined to the right. They are written in an upright script of medium size and rather heavy formation, less regular than that of P. Berl. 7499 (Schubart, *Palaeogr.* Abb. 93) but of somewhat similar type; it is another example of the

'Biblical' hand at an early stage. P. Berl. 7499 is justly assigned to the third century, and 2101, which is probably the older, is unlikely to be later than about A.D. 250; both the second and third centuries were largely represented in the find to which it belonged. Finishing dots at the extremities of certain strokes, especially the cross-bar of τ, are noticeable. Stops in three positions are used, besides paragraphi, and double dots sometimes in dialogue. Accents and breathings have been inserted here and there, and critical marks in the margins (diplê several times, *chi* once). Not a few of these additions are probably secondary, but precise apportionment is hazardous. It is not even clear whether the not infrequent textual alterations are to be attributed to more than one corrector. In some the hand is easily distinguishable from that of the body of the text, but in others it is not; the latter consequently are printed in thin type, though quite possibly these too are largely unoriginal.

The few papyri of the *Cyropaedia* which have been recovered have been interesting, and this new one is no exception. Three families of MSS. are recognized, CE, AGH, and DF, but in certain parts of the work, including Book i, the two former are commonly in agreement and can be classed together in opposition to DF, which are both fifteenth-century manuscripts, one at Oxford, the other at Erlangen. Priscian and Stobaeus used a text resembling that of DF, and the earlier influence of the same recension was attested by a Vienna papyrus and 697, and still more emphatically by 1018, the coincidence of which with DF is almost complete. Further strong support is given by 2106, which where the MSS. vary persistently sides with DF, especially with D (cf. Frs. 1 + 2. iii. 28, iv. 1). Agreements with other MSS. against D(F) occur only at Frs. 1 + 2. iii. 25, iv. 2 (?), 25, 34, Fr. 3. 3, and in the third and fifth of these places the variant of DF has been interlineated, while in the fourth an original DF lection has been crossed out. Readings otherwise unrecorded are not infrequent. Several of these are no more than small variations in the order of words and none are of great importance, though a few (e.g. Frs. 1 + 2. ii. 1, iv. 15, v. 31) may be worth consideration. Editorial excisions meet with no encouragement. For the collation below, Marchant's Oxford text has been utilized.

Frs. 1 + 2.

Col. i.

[ρωι ηδετο ου δυναμεναι 4. 15  
[σιγαν υπο της] ηδουης· αλ  
[λ ωσπερ σκυλα]κι γενναι  
[ωι ανακλαζοντ]ι οπότῃ

Col. ii.

αθηρευτα οντα [δ]μα του  
πολεμον εντ[αυθα] επε  
θυμησεν εξε[λθ]ε[ι]ν ο  
πως ουν ασφα[λως θη]ρω

M

5 [πλησιαζοι θη]ριωι και  
 [παρα]καλουντι [ον]ομασ[τ]ι  
 εκασ[τ]ον και του μεν κα  
 ταγελωντα αυτον ορων  
 ευφραινετο τον δε τι  
 10 να και επαινουντα αυ  
 τον η[σθα]νετο ουδ οπωσ  
 [τιο]ν φθονερωσ τε[λο]ς  
 [δ ου]ν θηρια πολλα εχων  
 [ο Αστυαγ]ησ απηει και  
 ουτ]ωσ  
 15 [το λοιπον ησθ]η τη το  
 [τε θη]ραι ωστε α]ει οπο  
 [τε οιο]ν τ ειη συ]νεξεη[ε]ι  
 [τωι Κυρω] και αλλ]λους τε  
 [πολλου]σ παρελαμ]βανε  
 20 [και τουσ παιδα]σ K]υρ[ου]  
 [ενεκα τον μεν δη] πλει

## Col. iii.

προσελασας προς τα των  
 Μηδων φρουρια τους  
 μεν βελτιστους και πλει  
 στου[ς] εχων μεθ αυτου  
 5 ενταυθα κατεμεινεν

5 η ιππεασ τε προ[σελα]βε  
 πολλουσ και π[ε]λταστας  
 οιτινες εμελλον αυτωι  
 εκ των λασιων τα θηρι  
 α εξελαν εις τα εργασιμα  
 10 τε και ευηλατα αφ[ε]ικο  
 μενοσ δε ου ην αυτ[ο]ις τα οπου  
 φρουρια και η φυ[λα]κη  
 ενταυθα [εδειπν]οποιει  
 το ωσ πρωι τη [υστ]εραιαι  
 15 θηρασων ηδ[η] δε] εσπε 4. 17  
 [ρο]ασ γ[ιγ]νομ[ε]νης η διαδο  
 δ[ι]οχη τη προσθεν φυ[λα]κη  
 ε[ρχ]εται εκ πολε]ωσ και  
 ε[π]πεισ και πεζο]ι εδο  
 20 ξ[ι]εν ουν αυτωι πολλ]η [σ]τρα  
 [τια παρει]ναι δυο μ]εν φυ  
 [λακαι ομο]υσσαι πο]λλοι  
 [δε ουσ αυ]τοσ η]κεν  
 ]....  
 [εχων ιππεασ και το]υσ πε>  
 25 [ζου]σ εβουλευσατ]ο ουν  
 [κρατιστο]ν ειναι λε]ηλα  
 [τησαι εκ της Μη]δικησ και  
 [λαμπροτε]ρον τ αν φανη]γαι  
 [το εργον της θη]ρασ κα]ι

## Col. iv.

σασθαι και γαρ μάλα καλα  
 ην και ευ αρμοζο[τ]α αυ  
 περι το σω[μα]  
 τωι α ο παππος . [.] . . ε  
 πεποιητ[ο] ουτω δη εξο

ως μη βοηθοιεν οι φρου  
 ροι των Μηδων επι τουσ  
 > καταθεοντα[ς] τ[ο]υσ δ ε  
 π[ι]τ[η]δειουσ αφηκε κα  
 10 τα φυλασ αλλουσ αλλοσε  
 καταθειν και εκελευε  
 περ[ε]βαλ[[λ]]ομενουσ οτωι  
 τισ ε[μ]τυ]γ[χ]ανοι ελαυνειν  
 προς α[υ]τον οι μεν δη ταυ  
 15 τ επρα[τ]των σημαυθεν 4. 18  
 των δε τωι Αστυαγει οτι  
 πολεμιοι εισιν εν τη  
 χωραι. [ε]κβοηθει και αυ  
 τοσ προς τα ορια συν τοισ  
 20 περι αυτον και ο υιοσ αυ  
 του ωσαυτωσ συν τοισ παρα  
 τυχουσιν ιπποταισ και  
 τοισ αλλοισ δ' εσημηνε  
 πασι[[ν]] εκβοηθειν ωσ  
 25 δε ειδον πολλουσ ανθρω  
 πουσ των Ασσυριων συν  
 [τ]ετ[α]γμα[ε]ν[ου]σ και τουσ  
 [ιπ]πεασ ησυχιαν αγων  
 [τασ] εστησαν και οι Μη  
 30 [δοι ο δε Κυρο]σ [ορω]ν εκ  
 [βο]ηθουν[τασ και τουσ α]λλ  
 [λου]σ παν[σ]υδι εκβοη  
 [θει] και αυτω[ς] τοτε πρω (?)  
 [τον] [[τοτε]] οπλα ε[ν]δυσ ου  
 35 [ποτε] οιομεν[ο]σ ουτωσ ε  
 [πεθυ]μει [α]υ[τω]ισ εξοπλι

5 πλισαμε[ν]οσ προσ[η]λα]  
 σε[ν] τα[ι] ιπ[π]ω[ι] και ο Αστ]υα  
 γησ ιδων. εθαυμασε μεν  
 τίνος κελευσαντοσ η[κ]οι>  
 ομωσ δ' ειπεν αυτωι με  
 10 νειν παρ εαυτον ο δε Κυ 4. 19  
 ροσ ωσ ειδεν ιππεασ πολ  
 > λουσ εναντιουσ ηρετο:  
 η ουτοι εφη ω παππε  
 πολεμιοι εισιν οι εφ[ε]  
 15 στηκασι τοισ ιπ[π]οισ [[ου]]  
 σι.  
 [[τωσ]] ηρεμου[[ντες]] π[ο]  
 λεμιοι μεντοι εφη: η  
 ε  
 κα'κεινοι εφη οι ελαυ  
 νουτες. [[πολεμι]]οι μεν  
 20 τωι; νη τον Δι εφη ω παππε  
 αλλ' ουν πονηροι γε φαι  
 νομενοι και επι πονη  
 ρων ιππαριων αγουσιν  
 ημων τα κ[τ]ηματα ου  
 εφ[η]  
 25 κουν χρη ελα[ν]νειν τι  
 νασ ημων επ αυτουσ αλ  
 λ ουχ' ορασ εφη ω παι ο  
 σον το στίφος των ιππε  
 ων εστηκε[[ν]] συντετα  
 30 γμενον οι [[ε]]αν επ εκει  
 νουσ ημεισ ελαυνωμεν  
 υποτεμουνται ημασ  
 παλιν εκεινοι ημιν δε  
 ου[[δε]]πω η ισχυσ παρεστιν  
 μενησ  
 35 αλλ εαν συ εφη ο Κυροσ και  
 αναλαμβανησ τουσ προσ

Col. v.

βοηθουν[τας . . . . .  
 ου κεινησ[ονται, οι δε  
 αγωντες αφ[ησουσιν ευ  
 θυς την λε[ιαν επειδαν  
 5 ιδωσιν τι[νας επ αυτους  
 ελαυνοντα[s] ταυτ ειπ[ων  
 εδοξε[ν] τι λεγε[ιν] τωι Α  
 στυαγει· κ[αι] αμα θαυμα  
 ζων ως εφ[ρονει] και ε  
 10 γρηγορει κ[ε]λευει τον υ  
 ιον λαβοντα τ[α]ξιμ ιπ  
 πεων ελα[σαι] επι τους  
 τ[η]ν λειαν [αγοντας] ε  
 γω δε εφη επι[ι] τουσδε  
 15 ην επι σε κει[ν]ωνται ε·  
 λω[ω]σ τε αναγκασθη  
 σονται ημιν [προσεχειν]  
 τον νουν· ουτ[ω] δη ο Κυ

αξαρης λαβων [των ερ  
 20 ρωμενων ιππ[ων] τε και  
 ανδρων προσελα[υνει] και  
 ο Κυρος ως ειδεν [ορμω  
 μενους συνεξο[ρμα] ευ  
 4. 20 θυς και αυτος πρ[ωτος] η  
 25 γειτο ταχεως· και [ο] Κυαξα  
 ρης μεν εφειπε[το] και  
 οι [αλ]λοι δε ουκ απ[ε]λειπον  
 το [ως] δε ειδον αυ[τους] πε  
 λα[ζοντας] οι λεηλατου  
 30 τες. εϋθ[υ]ς [α]φεντες τα  
 κτηματα εφευγ[ον] οι  
 > δ[ε] αμφι τον Κυρο[ν] υπε  
 τεμνοντο τε και ο[υ]ς μεν  
 κατελαμβανον. εϋθυς ε  
 35 παιον· πρωτος δε [ο] Κυρος  
 > οσοι δε παραλλαξα[ν]τες

Fr. 3.

μενα τ[ου]τοις πειθοιο  
 και μεν [δη] εφη ω πα 6. 3  
 ο[π]  
 τερ ο Κυρος ως[α]ν ιλεω  
 οι [θεοι] ο[ν]τες η[μιν] συμ  
 5 βουλ[ε]νειν θελω[σιν] ο  
 [σ]ον δυναμα[ι]

Fr. 1 + 2. i. γ. καταγελῶντος AGH.

9. l. ηνφ.

10-11. M(archant) brackets αὐτὸν ἠσθάνετο with Herwerden.

σπασ[τι]ον: so DF, M.; ὄπασσυν R, ὄπασ γοῦν others.

15. The original omission of ουτως was doubtless a mere oversight.

ii. i. *αθηρευτα οντα*: possibly this is but the participial construction instead of the infinitival *εἶναι ἀθήρευτα*, which is the ordinary reading; but since DF insert *ἄτε* before *ἀθήρευτα*, it seems likely that what the papyrus had was *εἶναι ἄτε ἀθήρ. ὄντα*, which may well be correct.

3. A space between η and σ of *θυμησεν* is probably to be accounted for by a flaw in the papyrus.

9. *εις*: so DEF: *εἰς* others, M.

10. A paragraphus may be lost below the line.

11. *ου*: *ὄπου*, the reading entered in the margin, is that of the MSS.

12. η: so DFG, M.; om. others.

14. *πρωι*: *πρός* AEHR.16. *γ[ε]γ[ο]μ[ε]νης* as in DF, or possibly *γ[ε]γ[ο]μ.*, suits the space rather better than *γ[ε]γ[ο]μ.* (other MSS., M.).21-2. *μ[ε]ν . . . ουσαι*: so cDFR; *γὰρ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν φυλακαί* others and M. ACEGHR add *καί* after *φυλακαί*.22-3. *πολλοί* [*δε ους*]: so DF; *πολλούς τε*, others, M. But the supplement in l. 23 is about four letters shorter than would be expected, and perhaps the *καί*, which in the majority of the MSS. follows *φυλακαί* (cf. the previous note), here preceded *αυτος*; or possibly *οντες* was added after *δε*, or *εχων* preceded *ηκεν*: see the next note.24. *το[υ]ς* (?) is not in the MSS., and vestiges of ink above the line probably point to some correction, though its nature remains obscure. Room could be made for a corresponding *τους* (θ) before *ιππεας* by the transference of *εχων* to the preceding line: see n. there.26. Dindorf wished to eject *κράτιστον εἶναι*.iii. 4. *αυτου*: *ἐαυτοῦ* MSS.; cf. l. 14 below. *εαυτ.* is however written in iv. 10.11. *ἐκέλευσε* AE.12. The second λ of *περ[ι]βαλλομενους*, which is the reading of most of the MSS., has been crossed through, probably by the second hand. *περιβαλομ. Α.**σται*: so DF, M.; *ὄπως* ACEGHR. The ι adscript of *σται*, if it is not a mere smudge, is also due to the corrector.13. *ε[ν]τ[υ]χ[η]νοι*: so cDF, but there is very little left of the supposed ν, and *επ[ι]τ.* (M. with CEHR), is equally possible; *ἐπιτυγχάνει* AG.14. *α[υ]τον*: *ἐαυτόν* DFR, M.; cf. iii. 4. *τ[ο]υτον* (ACEGH) would be less suitable both to the remains and the space.18. [*ε*]κβοηθει: so DF; *ἐξεβοήθει* others, M.23. *εσημηε*: *ἐσήμαιε* MSS.24. The apparent deletion of ν of *πασιν* is attributable to the second hand.25. *ἀνθρώπων* DR.28. *αγον[τας]*: so D; *ἔχοντας* others, M.32. *παν[σ]υδι*: the remains of the third letter are consistent with either ν or σ. *πανσυδί* DF, *πασσυδί* HAG, M., *-εί* ER, *πασιδί* C, *πανσυδία* F.33-4. *πρώτων τότε* MSS. Dots have been placed above *τοτε* (that over the first τ is missing), and the ε, and presumably the other letters too, was also lightly crossed through. If this alteration was made by the original scribe, *τοτε* may have stood in the text before *πρω[των]*, and without it the supplement would be distinctly short. Its repetition would then be a mere inadvertence.iv. i. *και γαρ μαλα*: so D; *μάλα δέ* others, M.2. *ευ*: so DF; om. M. with the other MSS. On the other hand *αρμοξο[ι]τ[α]* is the

spelling of ACEGHR, but it is by no means certain that ζ and not ττ as in DF (so M.) was written.

3. In place of *περὶ τὸ σῶμα*, the ordinary reading which the second hand has inserted, a word of four or five letters, of which the first might well be α, δ, λ, μ, or ν and the last was probably ε or σ, was originally written. Perhaps it was α[ν]ρος, but the vestiges are hardly sufficient for recognition.

7. ιδων: so DF; om. others, M.

11. ιππεας πολλους: πολ. ιππ. MSS.

12. εναντιους: so DF; αντιους others, M.

15-16. Both the original and the revised reading are unrecorded, the MSS. having *ἡρέμα* after *ἵπποις*. The letters enclosed in double brackets have dots placed over them, but are not crossed through.

19. The repetition of *πολεμιοι* was a mere slip; the cancelled letters have been crossed through. C omits *ἔφη*. *Ἡ καὶ . . . μέντοι*.

24. κ[τ]ήματα: so DF; χρήματα others, M.

25. εφ[η] which has been added above the line, possibly by the original scribe, is the reading of DF; om. others, M.

29. συντεταγμενον: so DF, M.; σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις others.

30. εαν has been altered to αν by the corrector; ἦν MSS.

33. ἐκείνοι is bracketed by M., following Hug.

34. οὐδέπω ισχ. DF, σῶμα ἢ ισχ. others, M.; the original text of the papyrus combined the two readings, but the letters δε were subsequently crossed out with double horizontal strokes. Two dots above the first stroke of the η are perhaps a misplaced diacresis intended for the ι of ισχυς and not cancelled when rewritten in the proper position.

35. For εαν, which is the reading of DF, cf. l. 30; ἦν others, M., and so the papyrus at v. 15. *μηνς* is preferable here to *μηνς[ς]*; the original omission was an inadvertence.

v. 1. After *προσβοηθουντας* the MSS. have *φοβήσονται οἱ καὶ*—manifestly too much for the lacuna, which is of approximately the same size as in the four following lines and would be filled by from nine to twelve letters. The omission of *οἱ* would therefore still leave the supplement rather long. Perhaps *φοβηθέντες* was the reading, but the simplest solution would be to suppose an original omission of *φοβήσονται* analogous to that of *μηνς* in iv. 35.

3. αφ[η]σουσιν εν[θ]υς: so DF; εὐθ. αφ. others, M.

6. επι[ων]: so DFR; εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ M. with the other MSS.

7. ι of τι is an alteration from, probably, an original ε.

9. ὡς καὶ MSS.

12. ελα[σαι]: so DF, with which the papyrus is likely to have agreed as usual, especially as the supplement is of just the right length; *ελα[υνειν]* however, which M. reads with the other MSS., is not impossible.

13. *την λειαν[αγοντας]*: αγ. την λ. MSS., but there is clearly no room for *αγοντας* in the previous line, and the transposition satisfactorily completes the second half of this one. Probably the two oblique dashes above the τ of *την* refer to the variation in the order.

15-16. ε]λῶ: so DF, M.; ελάσω others.

16-17. ανα[κασθη]σονται: so DF, M.; ανακασθῆναι ER, ἂν ανακασθῆναι ACGH, the last having a lacuna of about seven letters after *αναγκ.*

20. ιππ[ων] (M. with F) amply fills up the line, but *ιππ[εων]*, which is read by the rest, cannot of course be excluded.

23-4. συνεξο[ρμα εν]θυς: so DF; ἐξορμῆ others, M.

31. κτηματα: χρήματα MSS.: cf. iv. 24.

33. τε: om. MSS.

Fr. 3. 2-3. εφη ω πα[τερ]: so DF; ὦ π. ἔφη others, M.

3. ωσ α[ν] is the reading of CV (so M.), the v. l. α[π]ωσ γ α[ν] being that of DF; the γ however is extremely uncertain, since the papyrus is broken away above the letters ωσα, and γ is represented only by a vestige over σ suggestive of the extremity of its base; without γ the interlinear variant would coincide with the reading of Stobaeus. ὦν ἄν CAEGH, ὄπταν R.

2102. PLATO, *Phaedrus*.

Height 25.4 cm.

Late second century.

Nine consecutive columns, the last three very fragmentary, from a roll of the *Phaedrus*. The round upright hand, which is of a medium size, has affinities with e.g. that of 1622 (Part XIII, Plate 4), but is a less regular and no doubt rather later specimen of the style; it may belong to the second half of the second century. The rather short lines (about 5 cm.) are in proportion to the modest height (15 cm.) of the columns, which, as often, are slightly inclined to the right. At the ends of lines a complementary sign varying from a small dash to a mere dot is frequently used; this is given uniformly as a dash in the printed copy. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity have been inserted sporadically, probably by the corrector whose hand is rather frequently in evidence in the text; the marginal signs, which resemble those in 2101, are also likely to be secondary, and so too no doubt in large measure, at any rate, is the punctuation, for which high and medial dots besides paragraphi are commonly used, with a colon to signify a change of speaker. A coronis at v. 21 marks the end of a section.

This dialogue is already represented in two fairly lengthy papyri from Oxyrhynchus, 1016-17, which have been studied in detail by H. Alline in his valuable article on the history of the Platonic text in *Rev. de Philol.* xxxiv, pp. 253 sqq. Though not a manuscript of such high class as 1017, it resembles that papyrus in having been subjected to a revision whereby a number of readings have been brought in from another source. The original scribe was decidedly careless and made a number of obvious errors, which the corrector has usually not failed to observe. Apart from these mistakes the text is a fairly good one, showing, as usual, no special affinity. Coincidences with MSS. other than BTW are noticeable in ii. 16, iii. 6, v. 2. Variants not otherwise recorded occur at i. 19 (omission), ii. 15, iii. 13-15, 18, 22, v. 10, 21-2, 24-5, but more than half of these are insertions by the second hand where the first gave the normal reading, and none is of much value.

The collation appended below is based on Burnet's edition; the apparatus of Bekker has also been consulted.

## Col. i.

]..σ.[  
 ]..α[  
 [γ]ον αυτο[ς] τε εκομι 242 d  
 σα[ς] εμε τ[ε] η[γ]αγ[κα]  
 5 σα[ς] ειπε[ι]ν: πως [δη]:  
 ευ[η]θη [κ]αι υπο τι α [ ]  
 σεβη. ου τις αν ειη [ ]  
 δεινότερος: [ο]υδε[ι]ς  
 ει γε συ αληθη λε [ ]  
 10 γ[ε]ις: τι ου[ν] τ[ον] ε[ρω]  
 [τα] ουκ Αφροδειτη[ς]  
 και θεο[ν] τινα ηγει  
 λεγεται [[δ]]ε δη: ου[[ν]]  
 υπο γε Λυσίου. ουδ' υ  
 15 πο του σου λογου.  
 ος δια του εμου' στο  
 ματος καταφ[αρ]μα-  
 [κ]ευθεντος υπο οδου [ ]  
 [ε]λεχθη. ει δ' εστιν?  
 20 ο Ερωσ ουδεν [αν  
 κακον ειη. τω [δε] λο  
 γω τω νυνδη [πε  
 [ρι] α]υτου ειπ[ε]την  
 [ω]ς] τοιουτου ο[ν]τ[ος].  
 25 [ταυτη]ε τ[ε] ουν η  
 [μαρτανετην] περ[ι]  
 [τον] ερωτ[α] ετι τε  
 [η] ευ[η]θια αυτο[ι]ν  
 [παν]υ] αστεια. το μη  
 30 [δεν] υγιε[ς] λεγουντε  
 [μη]δε αλ[η]θες σε

## Col. ii.

μυνεσθαι ως τ[ι]  
 ουτε· ει ἄρα ανθρω 243 a  
 σ  
 πικους τινας εξα-  
 πατησαν[τ]ε ευδοκι  
 5 μήσετον εν αυτοις  
 εμε μεν ουν ω φιλε  
 καθηρασ[θ]αι αυ[α]γ  
 κη· εστι δε τοις αμαρ  
 10 τανουσι περι μυθο  
 λογιαν καθαρος-  
 αρχαιος· ον Ομηρος  
 μεν ουκ ησθετο·-  
 Στησιχορος δε των  
 γαρ ομματων στε  
 15 ρηθεις δια την Ελε  
 νης κατηγοριαν·  
 ουκ ηγνωσεν ωσ  
 x περ Ομ[η]ρος· αλλα α  
 τ[ε] μ]ουσικος ων. ε  
 20 γνω την αιτιαν  
 ,, κα[ι] ποιει ευθυς· ου  
 ,, κ εσ[τ] ετυμος λογος  
 ,, ουδ' εβας εν νηυσιν  
 ,, ευσελμοις ουδ' ικε  
 25 ,, ο Περγαμα Τροιας·-  
 και ποιησας δη πα  
 σαν την καλουμε  
 νην Παλινωδιαν  
 παραχρημα ανε

## Col. iii.

> βλεψ[ε]ν εγω ουν σο  
 φω[τ]ε[ρο]ς εκεινων  
 γε[ν]η[σο]μαι κατ' αυτο  
 [γ]ε τουτο· προ[ν] γαρ τι  
 5 παθειν δια την τ[ου]  
 Ερωτος κατη[γο]ρια[ν]  
 πειρασομαι αυ[τω]  
 αποδουναι την  
 παλινωδιαν· γυμνη  
 10 κεφαλη· και ουχ ωσ  
 περ τοτε υπ' αισχυνης  
 εγκεκαλυμμενος:  
 , ουκ εστιν /  
 τουτωνει /ω Σωκρα  
 αττ αν  
 > τε[ς] [[ουκ] εστιν αττα  
 15 ν ε[[μοι] ειπεσ ηδι  
 > οι: και γαρ ωγαθε  
 Φαιδρε εννοεις-  
 ως αληθως και α  
 ναιδως ειρησ[θ]ον  
 20 τω λογω· ουτος τε  
 και ο εκ του βιβλι[ο]ν  
 κληθεις· ει γαρ ακου  
 ων τις τυχοι ημων  
 > γενναδας και πρα-  
 25 ος το ηθος ετερου-  
 δε τοιουτου ε[[τ]ε]ρων  
 η και προτερον πο  
 τε ερασθεις λεγον

## Col. v.

λ ευ ισθι οτι εξε' του  
 θ ουτως· [[σ]σου γαρ ει

## Col. iv.

των ως δια συμ[ι]κρα  
 μεγαλας έχθρας  
 οι ερασται αναιρουν  
 ται· και εχουσιν προς  
 5 τα παιδικα φανερωσ  
 τε και βλαβερως πωσ  
 ουκ αν οικει αυτον η-  
 γεισθαι ακουειν εν  
 αυταις που τεθρ[α]μ-  
 10 μενον και ουδεν  
 ελευθερον ερωτα  
 εωρακοτων· πολλου  
 δ αν δειν ημ[[ε]ιν ο-  
 μολογειν ἄ ψεγομεν d  
 15 τον Ερωτα· ισως νη  
 Δια ω Σωκρατες: του  
 τον γε τοιουν εγω-  
 γε αισχυνομενος  
 και αυτον τον Ερω-  
 20 τα δεδιωσ· επιθυ-  
 μω ποτιμω λογω  
 διον αλμυραν ακο  
 ην αποκλυσασθαι·  
 συμβουλευω δε και  
 25 Λυσια οτι ταχιστα-  
 γραφαι ως χρη ερασ  
 τη μαλλον η μ[η] ε  
 ρωντι εκ των ο[μοι]  
 ων χαριζεσθαι [:] αλ

## Col. vi.

x φημου Ιμεραιου·-  
 λεκτεος δε ωδε

5 ποντος του του ερα  
 του επαινον· πασα  
 αναγκη Δυσιαν υ  
 π εμου αναγκ[κ]ασθη  
 ναι γραψαι αυ περι  
 του αυτου λογον:—  
 τουτο μεν πιστευ  
 10 ω εωσπερ αν ης  
 ος <sup>ετ</sup>ει: λεγοι νυν θαρ  
 ρων: που δη μοι—  
 ο παις προς ου ελε  
 γον· ινα και τουτου—  
 15 ακουση και μη ανη  
 κοος ων φθαση χα  
 ρισαμενος τωι—  
 μη ερωτι: ουτος  
 παρα σοι μαλα πλη  
 20 σιον αι παρεστιν ο  
 ταν σ[υ] βουλη: ουτως  
 > [[ι]] τοιων ω παι καλε  
 εννοησον ως ο—  
 μεν προτερος' [[ην]]  
 25 λογος Φαιδρου του—  
 Πυθοκλεους Μυρρι  
 νουσιου ανδρος· ον  
 δε μελλω λεγειν·—  
 Στησιχορου του Ευ

Col. vii.

θεια [μοιρα γιγνη  
 ται· δ[υ]τω νομισαν

c

5 οτι ουκ εστ ετυμος  
 λογος ος αν <sup>[π]αροντος</sup> [[ηρ παρ]]  
 [[οντος]] εραστου τω  
 μη ερωτι μα[λ]—  
 λον φη[[μι]] δειν—  
 χαριζεσθαι διοτι  
 10 δη ο μεν μαινε[ται]  
 ο δε σωφρονει· ε[ι]  
 μεν γαρ ην απλ[ουν]  
 το μανιαν κακο[ν]  
 ειναι καλως αν  
 15 ελεγετο· νυν δε τα [  
 μεγαιστα των α [  
 γαθων ημιν γ[ι]  
 γνεται δια μανια[ς]  
 θειᾱ μεντοι δ[ο]  
 20 τε γαρ δη εν Δελ—  
 φοις προφητ[ι]ς α [[τ]]  
 τ εν Δωδωνη ῑερει  
 αι μανεισαι μεν  
 πολλα δη και καλα  
 25 ιδ̄α τε και δημοσια  
 την Ελλάδα· ειργα—  
 σαντο· [[το]] σωφρο—  
 νουσαι δε βραχεα—  
 η ουδεν· και εαν—

τες ε[θ]εντο οι δε  
 νυν [απειροκαλως

. Col. viii.  
 6 (?) lines lost  
 νων και των αλ  
 λων σημειων—  
 10 ατ εκ [[αια]]νοιας πο  
 ριζομενων αν—  
 [θρ]ωπινη οισησει  
 [νου]ν τε και ιστοριαν  
 ο[ι]ον[ο]ιστικην ε  
 πωνομοσαν· η[ν]  
 15 νυν οιω[ν] <sup>ο[ι]!</sup>[[ι]]στικ[ην]

× [τ]ω ω' σεμνυνον [  
 τες ο̄ι νεοι κα—  
 λουσιν· οσω δη αυν  
 [τελ]ε[ω]τερον

Col. ix.

7 (?) lines lost  
 η [μανια εγγενομε  
 νη [και προφητευ  
 10 σασα [οις εδει απαλ  
 λ[α]γην ηυρετο κα  
 τα[φυ]γουσα

i. 1-2. To what these two much damaged lines, which have been entered in a small hand near the top of the upper margin, referred is not evident. Perhaps it was to the omission in l. 19; see n. there.

12. ηγει: so Paris. 1825, Bekker; ἡγή others, Burnet.

13. The letter originally written instead of γ is in some ways more like α than δ. At the end of the line the corrector's reading is that of T and Burn.; δτι B, ο̄τε Paris. 1825-6, ο̄τοι Heindorf.

16. The oblique stroke after εμου was perhaps intended to divide that word from the next.

19. The papyrus omits the words εωσπερ ο̄ν̄ ε̄στι, θεος ἢ τι θε̄ιον, which ordinarily follow ε̄ι δ' ε̄στιν. There is no sign of any insertion here, but not improbably that at the top of the column is to be connected with this rather strange omission. The margin below l. 31 is lost.

27. ετι τε: ε̄τε B.

ii. 15. της, which has been inserted above the line, is not in the MSS.

16. κατηγοριαν: so Paris. 1809-10, 1813, 1825-6; κακηγ. other MSS., Burn. Cf. iii. 6.

17-18. Vollgraff deletes εωσπερ Ὀμηρος.

21 sqq. The marginal marks like double commas indicate the quotation. Single wedge-shaped signs are also used for this purpose, e. g. in 405.

23. ουτος after λογος was omitted by the first hand, and the second has only partially mended the passage by inserting τος above δε of ουδε.

24. l. ευσελμοις.

iii. 6. It is tolerably clear that κατηγοριαν was the original reading, as in ii. 16, but here there is something which is presumably κ above the line. κατηγ. Paris. 1813, 1825-6, κακηγ. other MSS., edd.

10. κεφαλη: so B; τῆ κεφ. T, Burn.

12. The colon at the end of the line is very doubtful.

13-15. The text was normal as originally presented, and the corrector's version is not found elsewhere. Apart from Paris. 1813, which transposes  $\alpha\tau\tau'$   $\alpha\nu$  and  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ , there is no variation in the MSS. For the corrector's use of oblique dashes cf. v. 10, 24-5.

18.  $\alpha\lambda\theta\omega\varsigma$  και: om. MSS.

22.  $\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ :  $\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  MSS.

26. The deletion is apparently due to the second hand.

iv. 5.  $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$ :  $\phi\theta\omicron\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$  MSS.

9. 1.  $\nu\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ :  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$  in G Paris. 1811 is a rather similar mistake.

9-10.  $\tau\epsilon\theta\rho[\alpha]\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ : so BT, &c.;  $-\nu\omega\nu$  corr. Coisl., edd. The  $\omicron$ , though rubbed, is indubitable.

13. An oblique mark above the  $\epsilon\iota$  of  $\eta\mu[[\epsilon]]\omega$  was presumably meant for a circumflex accent.

v. 2.  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  σου: so t and others;  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  οὐ BT,  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$  σου Burn. with Schanz.

10-11. In l. 10 the original reading, in l. 11 that of the corrector, corresponds with the MSS. For the abnormal acute accent on  $\epsilon\iota$  cf. the Epic form  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  which is sometimes written  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .

14.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ : so T;  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  B, Burn.

21-2.  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\sigma\iota$ , as originally written, is traditional.

24-5. The order of the first hand is that of the MSS.

vi. 2.  $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ : om. B.

4. The first hand apparently wrote  $\alpha\nu\eta\rho$ . Why the corrector considered it necessary to rewrite  $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is not evident.

7. The superfluous letters  $\mu\iota$  have been crossed through, probably by the second hand.

10. A paragraphus may be lost below this line.

14. The scribe originally wrote  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu$  and then converted the  $\nu$  to  $\tau$  by putting a cross-bar on the second upright. Since the result was not very clear the syllable  $\tau\omicron$  was rewritten above the line, either by himself or, more probably perhaps, by the corrector.

18-19.  $\delta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$  was of course a mere blunder. It may be doubted whether what follows the interlinear  $\sigma$  is an  $\iota$ , which is unwanted, or double dots, which would be abnormal.

21-2. The reading is right as corrected.

24.  $\delta\eta$ , which Aristides omits, is apparently erased in B.

26.  $\eta\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$  MSS. The point after  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\delta\alpha$  is superfluous.

viii. 7 sqq.  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  is bracketed by Schanz;  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$  . . .  $\pi\omicron\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$  Stephanus.

9.  $\alpha\tau\epsilon$  και  $\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$  was the original erroneous reading. The corrector seems to have at first crossed out  $\alpha\iota$  and then, having inserted  $\delta\iota\alpha$  above the line, to have also cancelled the  $\alpha$ , which had thus become superfluous.

11.  $\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ : so B Aristides, Burn.;  $\nu\omicron\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$  T, and the corrector of B inserted a  $\nu$  to indicate that reading.

13.  $\omicron\iota[\omicron\nu]\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\eta\nu$  (W Aristides) suits the papyrus, though  $\omega$  in place of the first  $\omicron$  is not excluded; at any rate B's error ( $\omicron\iota\omega\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\eta\nu$ ) was avoided.

15. The corrector as in some other places altered what seems to have been the right reading, though neither the original letter nor what was substituted is very clear

2103. GAIUS, *Institutiones* iv.

Frs. 2+3 20.3 x 23.4 cm. Third century. Plate IV  
(Frs. 2+3 Col. ii).

Among the many contributions of the papyri to the study of Roman law, to which Oxyrhynchus has lately added a leaf from an index to the lost first edition of the Codex Justinianus (1814), and the first specimens to be recovered of the process *per libellum* (1876-9), an honourable place is taken by the following fragments, which not only deprive the famous Verona Palimpsest (V) of the distinction of being the only known MS. of the *Institutiones* of Gaius, but are still older than that ancient copy.

The two main fragments, which are separated by only a slight gap, together give parts of three consecutive columns covering sections 68-72 of the Fourth Book; none of the columns are complete, though of the first two there are substantial remains. They are written with a somewhat coarse pen in a clear cursive hand, the ink being very black. Some noticeable features are a few double forms,  $e$  with cross-bar starting from either the centre or base of the upright,  $l$ , the base of which commonly bends down to the right, but sometimes is again turned back to the left,  $m$ , which is written both with pointed and rounded tops,  $s$ , which is mostly of the usual cursive variety, but once at the end and once in the middle of a line has a flattened form of the uncial letter (Frs. 2+3. 19, 48).  $p$  always has a flat top, not a loop; the cross-bar of  $t$  is often shortened on the right of the upright. Ligatures are not employed to any very large extent;  $e$  and  $u$  are often linked with  $m$ ,  $r$ , and  $s$ , and occasional combinations of  $bu$  (Frs. 2+3. 47) and  $tr$  (ll. 43, 56) are also to be noted. Long vowels are here and there marked with an *apex*, as e.g. in 30 and B.G.U. 611. Abbreviation was sparing and perhaps confined to recurrent phrases such as *bonorum emptor*, which in Frs. 2+3. 3 is written  $b \cdot e$  and *filius familiae*, which there is reason to think was shortened in l. 16. An ordinary numeral at Fr. 1. 3 has no adjunct, but the number of the column, entered above Frs. 2+3. ii perhaps by another hand, is surmounted by a diagonal stroke, and a dot follows the final digit;  $x$  below a horizontal stroke in Frs. 2+3. 70 probably means *dena* (cf. l. 59). A high stop accompanied by a paragraphus is found in Frs. 2+3. 52. An asterisk has been inserted in the margin opposite l. 64. The columns are broad, the lines commonly exceeding forty letters in length. Owing to a decrease in the size of the writing and a closer setting of the lines towards the bottom of Col. i of the main fragments, that column contained four or five lines more than the next one. Col. ii, according to the numeration in the upper margin, was the nineteenth of the roll, which therefore began with the Fourth Book; but there is



of course no reason why uniform copies of the preceding Books should not have been made on other rolls.

Specimens of Latin cursive have been multiplying of late (a convenient *conspicuum* down to 1914 is given by H. B. van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing*), and though of course the age of undated examples cannot be estimated with the precision attainable for Greek, they can at least be assigned to their century with a certain amount of security. The affinities of the present fragments are evidently with the Roman cursive of the second and third centuries rather than the early Byzantine hand. Somewhat similar specimens may be seen in 32 (Part I, Plate 8, second to third century), 735 (Part IV, Plate 5, A.D. 205), and 1114 (Part VIII, Plate 7, A.D. 237). A comparison of these and other examples appears to justify the assertion that 2103 can hardly be later than the third century, and if a closer estimate is to be hazarded, I would suggest about the middle of that century as the likeliest date. Internal evidence shows that the *Institutiones* were written about the time of the death of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 161). Probably, therefore, the present copy was made within 150 years at most from the date of composition; the interval may well have been no more than a century, possibly even no more than a couple of generations.

The Verona Palimpsest (= V) is in places indecipherable, and the papyrus happens partially to coincide with one of these illegible pages (§ 72). A sentence in the middle of which the previous page ends had been completed with the aid of the corresponding passage in the *Institutes* of Justinian, successfully enough, as is now proved, though not quite exactly; and the papyrus carries on the text about ten lines further before it in turn becomes too defective to follow. This positive contribution does not, however, exhaust the significance of the fragments for textual purposes; an independent witness of such antiquity is of considerable value in connexion with the already extant text. So far as it goes the new evidence is of a reassuring character. The papyrus is free from some obvious errors of V, and falls into others of its own. Apart from such minor discrepancies, the differences between the two texts are not striking. The principal new readings are § 68 *deductum* for *-tio*, § 69 *licet* for *solent*, § 71 *exercitoria* for *tamen ex praetoria*, the omission (with Just. *Inst.*) of *actio* before *appellatur*, and (?) *aliumve* for *aut*, § 72 *ex peculiari* for *in peculiari*. Some of these may be right, others wrong. On the other hand it is interesting to observe that two editorial emendations in § 71 are not confirmed, one being the excision of a supposed gloss, the other the addition of the words *in eum*; the fact that the spelling *institutorius* is already to be found in the papyrus is also noticeable. Detractors of V's text will not therefore derive much encouragement from this new discovery, and it is perhaps well for the reputation of the late Professor

F. Kniep, that his detection of 'nachgajanische Zutaten' was not extended to the Fourth Book. Of the lengths to which some critics have been prepared to go an illustration may be found in a recent article by F. Ebrard (*Z. Sav.-St.*, Rom. Abt. xlv) who counts the *Institutiones* a 'Zeugnis für den Stand der römischen Rechtskultur in italienischen Städten des iv/v Jahrhunderts' (p. 144). This estimate will hardly need further discussion.

With regard to the much discussed question of the locality in which Gaius wrote, 2103 does not perhaps count for much. The theory strongly maintained by Mommsen, and at first commonly accepted, that his home was the province of Asia, has latterly been losing ground, and current opinion rather inclines to the view that though very possibly a native of Asia, Gaius lived at Rome. That this very ancient copy proceeds from the eastern half of the empire may be thought to favour Mommsen's thesis, but the close connexion between Rome and Egypt forbids us to attach much weight to that argument. Of more moment is the testimony of the papyrus to the early dissemination of Gaius' works. Much has been made of the circumstance that he is not expressly cited by classical jurists, and is first named as an authority in Cod. Theod. i. 4. 3, A.D. 426; and Kuntze speaks as if his position had been merely an artificial result of Imperial caprice (*Der Provincialjurist Gajus*, p. 4). It accords ill with this extreme view to find the *Institutiones* being read in an Egyptian provincial town already (apparently) in the middle of the third century. The better balanced judgement of Kübler (Pauly-Wissowa vii. 503) that in the third or at latest the fourth century the writings of Gaius had become widely recognized now receives a welcome and unexpected corroboration.

For the accompanying collation, the school edition of Krüger-Studemund, 1912, has been utilized. I owe to Professor W. W. Buckland some valuable suggestions for the reconstruction of Frs. 2 + 3. 54-9.

Fr. I.

in integrum restituit iv. 57

[facilius enim reis praetor succurrit] quam acto [

ribus loquimur autem exceptis minoribus xxv [

Frs. 2 + 3, Col. i.

9 (?) lines lost

§ 68

10 *deductum ve*  
[ro ad condemnationem ponitur] quo loco plus

[petenti periculum non interveni]t utique b' e'  
 [agente qui licet de certa pecun]ia agat incer  
 [ti tamen condemnationem conc]ipit quia ta § 69  
 15 [men superius mentionem habuim]us de actione  
 [qua in peculium fil. fam. (?) servo]rumque ageretur  
 [opus est ut de hac actione et de ce]teris quae in eorum  
 [dem nomine in parentes domino]sve dari licet deli  
 [gentius admoneamus inprimis itaque] si iussu patris § 70  
 20 [dominive negotium gestum erit in solidum prae  
 [tor actionem in patrem dominumve co]mparavit [  
 [et recte quia qui ita negotium gerit] magis patros [  
 [dominive quam filii servive fide]m sequitur eadem § 71  
 [ratione comparavit duas alias actiones exercit]oriam et in  
 25 [stitutoriam tunc autem exercitoria lo]cum habet cum pa [  
 [ter dominusve filium servumve] magistrum [navi  
 [praeposuerit et quid cum eo eiu]s rei gratia cui praepo  
 [situs fuerit negotium gestum e]rit cum enim ea quo  
 [que res ex voluntate patris domin]ive contrahi vid[etur  
 30 [aequissimum esse visum est in soli]dum actionem da[ri]  
 [quin etiam licet extraneum quis]que magistrum na[re]  
 [praeposuerit sive servum sive libe]rum exercitor[ia]  
 [actio in eum redditur ideo exerci]toriam autem appel [ ]  
 [latur quia exercitor vocatur] is ad quem cotidianus  
 35 [navis quaestus pervenit insti]tutoria vero formula  
 [tum locum habet cum quis tabern]ae aut cuilibet nego  
 [tiationi filium servum alium]ve quemlibet extra  
 [neum sive servum sive liberum p]raeposuerit et quis  
 [cum eo eius rei gratia cui praeposit]us est contractum

Col. ii. Plate IV.

xviii.

40 [fuerit id]eo autem institut[oria vocatur] quia [qui ta  
 [bernae pra]ep[onitur institor [appellatur] quae et i  
 [psa for]mula in solidum est praeterea [ri]butoria § 72  
 [quoque] actio in patrem dominumve constitu[it]a [est  
 [cum] f[ili]i[us] servosve ex peculiari merce sciente pa  
 45 [tre] domino[que] [n]egotietur nam si quis eius rei  
 gr[ati]a [um] eo contractum fuerit praetor ita ius dicit

ut quid[quid in his] mercibus erit quod inde receptum  
 erit ita p[ater] d[ominus]ve inter s[e] si quid debetur et  
 ceteros [re]ditores pro rata portione distribuunt  
 50 et si cre[dito]res querantur minus sibi distributum § 72<sup>a</sup>  
 quam opor[te]ret in id quod deest hanc eis actionem  
 pollicetur [quae u]t diximus tributoria vocatur est  
 etiam de p[eculio] et de in rem verso actio a praetore  
 constitu[ta] etsi e[tenim] negotium ita gestum sit cu[m]  
 55 filio se[rvove] ut neque voluntas neque consens[us]  
 patris dominive inte[r]venerit si quid tam[en] ex  
 [e]a re [quae inter eos gest]a est in rem patris dom[inive]  
 [versu]m sit praestet aut si non in rem versu[m] fuerit eate[nus]  
 [quatenus peculium patitur si ergo HS. d[ena] in . . . .]  
 60 . . . ?[ about 22 letters praeto]r dat actionem  
 [ " 32 " ]itur his ver[bis]  
 . . . . .  
 . e . . . .  
 ✕ usame[ ]  
 65 aut rem [  
 et re . [  
 i [  
 . [  
 s [  
 HS.  
 70 x [  
 i [  
 n [  
 h [  
 g [  
 . . . . .

Col. iii.

4 lines lost

71  
 80 n [  
 e [  
 i [  
 . . . . .

3 lines lost

86 . [  
 z [  
 . [  
 . . . . .

Fr. 1. The appearance of this small fragment rather suggests that it contains ends of lines, but this must be regarded as uncertain. There is a junction of two sheets near the right-hand edge. Of l. 1 only the bottoms of letters remain, and though the reading adopted seems possible, it is by no means convincing.

N

Frs. 2+3. 10. *deductum*: *deductio* V.

12. *petendi* (Beseler) is of course equally possible.

16. To judge by the preceding and following lines, not more than about twenty-five letters are expected in the lacuna, and therefore it is necessary to suppose either that *familias* (V and Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. init.) was omitted or that there was an abbreviation. The reference in *superius* is to a passage lost between § 60 and § 61, corresponding to Just. *Inst.* iv. 6. 36, where it is noticeable that *filiū*, not *fil. familias*, is written.

18. *licet*: *solent* V and Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. init.

*del[gentius]*: so apparently the papyrus; l. *dil.*

22. *patros*, which it seems impossible to avoid, is a strange slip.

24-5. *institutoriam*: cf. ll. 35, 40. The same spelling is consistently used in V and commonly in the 'better' MSS. of Justinian's *Inst.* It is noticeable that in l. 41 the papyrus nevertheless has *institor*, not *institutor* as V.

26. [*navi*]: so Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. 2 PWE, *navis* V, Just. *Inst.* B. What stood in the papyrus here is of course uncertain, but in l. 31, if *navis* had been written, it seems likely that part of the top of the *s* would be visible.

27-8. The reading of V here apparently is *p(rae)positum p' (= post) fu(er)it negotium gestum erit*; Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. 2 has *praepositus erit contractum fuerit*. F. Kniep, *Der Rechtsgelehrter Gaius*, p. 136, taking the reading of V to be *fuit* (so the 1874 copy of Studemund) suggested that *p'fuit* represented an original *praeposuit*, but this produces a clumsy tautology, and the ordinary reading, which simply omits the unintelligible *p(ost)* and adopts *praepositus* from Justinian, seems preferable. If *praepositus fuerit* stood in the papyrus, the length of the lacuna indicates agreement with V in the addition of *negotium*, which was regarded by Mommsen as a gloss and is accordingly bracketed by Krüger-Studemund. *Negotium* is omitted in Just. *Inst.* and also by V later in this section, but that is very inconclusive evidence. The theory of glosses is easily overworked.

30. Krüger-Studemund follow Huschke in inserting *in eum* after *actionem*, a conjecture which is not confirmed. The top of the supposed *d* in the papyrus is not indeed inconsistent with an *i*, but the following vestige though slight, suits *a* and does not suit *n*: moreover the lacuna at the beginning of l. 31 is already amply filled. The insertion is quite unnecessary. V mistakenly has *actio*.

31. *quis[que]*: so edd.; *quisqua s* V.

*na[vi]*: see n. on l. 26.

32. *exercitor[ia]*: *tamen ea praetoria* V.

33. *ideo exercitoria autem*: *id. aut. ex.* V and Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. 2, the normal order; cf. l. 40.

*appel[atur]*: *actio appellatur* V, edd.; *om. actio* Just. *Inst.* l. c. *actio* may be supposed to have followed *appel[atur]* in the next line of the papyrus, if *appel[atur]* be read, but there is barely room for [*la*] and the reading adopted is more likely.

35. Either *peruenit* (V) or *pertinet* (Just. *Inst.* l. c.) could of course be read. For *insti[tutoria]* cf. ll. 24-5, n.

36. [*tum*]: the reading of Just. *Inst.* l. c. *tunc*, is again equally possible.

37. *Palium[ve]*: *aut* V, which is plainly inconsistent both with the remains and the space. *alium* is of the requisite length for the lacuna, which requires another five or six letters after *servum*.

38. *quis* should be *quid* which is implied by *contractum* and rightly read by V. The mistake is repeated in l. 45.

40. *institutoria*: cf. n. on ll. 24-5.

41. *institor*: so edd.; *institutor* V. Cf. n. on ll. 24-5.

*qu[ae]*: so edd.; *qua* V.

44. *servosve*: the archaic *o* is not used elsewhere in the fragment.

*ex*: *in* V and Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. 3.

*peculiari merce*: so Just. *Inst.* l. c. After *peculiari* V has *qu(i)optio* (?), which editors normally disregard, a course now justified by the papyrus. Kniep, *Der Rechtsgelehrte Gaius*, p. 136, proposed to read *pec. quidem pretio merce*, an awkward asyndeton.

45. The letters *inoq* are contained on a detached fragment which is placed here with some hesitation, since a mistake of *que* for *ve* has to be assumed. On the other hand the fibres of the recto correspond well, and no alternative position for the fragment suggests itself. The doubtful *i* might be *o*.

*quis*: l. *quid*; cf. l. 38, n.

46. *praetor ita*: *ita praetor* V, Just. *Inst.* l. c. The supposed apex on *eo* is very uncertain.

47 sqq. At the word *mercibus* a page of V ends and the following page is illegible. The sentence was completed by Goeschen from Just. *Inst.* l. c. thus: *erit quodque inde receptum erit, id inter patrem dominumve, si quid ei debebitur, et ceteros creditores pro rata portione distribuatur* (so Krüger-Studemund). This turns out to be a close anticipation of the wording of Gaius, whose sentence, however, had an active not a passive form. The papyrus on the other hand is not free from blemishes. *quodque* as in Just. or *et quod* is required (both capital and revenue) as well as *id* for *ita*, which perhaps came from an original *it*; and *distribuunt* should of course be *-ant*.

50 sqq. The corresponding passage in Just. *Inst.* is as follows (iv. 7. 3-4):—*et quia ipsi domino distributionem permittit, si quis ex creditoribus queratur, quasi minus ei tributum sit quam oportuerit, hanc ei actionem accommodat quae tributoria appellatur. Praeterea introducta est actio de peculio deque eo quod in rem domini versum erit, ut, quamvis sine voluntate domini negotium gestum erit, tamen sive quid in rem eius versum fuerit, id totum praestare debeat, sive quid non sit in rem eius versum, id eatenus praestare debeat quatenus peculium patitur. in rem autem domini versum intellegitur quidquid necessario in rem eius impenderit servus, veluti si mutuatus pecuniam creditoribus eius solverit aut aedificia ruentia fulserit aut familiae frumentum emerit vel etiam fundum aut quamlibet aliam rem necessariam mercatus erit. itaque si ex decem ut puta aureis quos servus tuus a Titio mutuos accepit creditori tuo quinque aureos solverit, reliquos vero quinque quolibet modo consumpserit, pro quinque quidem in solidum damnari debes, pro ceteris vero quinque eatenus quatenus in peculio sit. ex quo scilicet apparet, si toti decem aurei in rem tuam versi fuerint, totos decem aureos Titium consequi posse. licet enim una est actio qua de peculio deque eo quod in rem domini versum sit agitur, tamen duas habet condemnationes. itaque iudex apud quem de ea actione agitur ante despiciere solet an in rem domini versum sit, nec aliter ad peculii aestimationem transit quam si aut nihil in rem domini versum intellegatur aut non totum.* The first sentence is a fairly near approximation to ll. 50-2 of the papyrus, and ll. 53-9 can be restored more or less satisfactorily on the lines of the second. It seems clear that Gaius had nothing corresponding to *veluti si mutuatus . . . mercatus erit*, ll. 59 sqq. being the counterpart of *itaque si ex decem* sqq. As shown by the numeral  $\bar{x}$  in l. 70, the illustration extended as far as that point at least. The conclusion of a sentence in l. 70 is marked by the paragraphus.

52-4. For *pollicetur* cf. Just. *Inst.* iv. 7. 1, 2, where *pollicetur* replaces the *comparavit* of Gaius iv. 70-1, and for the construction cf. iii. 82-3 *Sunt autem etiam alterius generis successiones . . . Etenim cum pater . . .* (the only instance in Gaius of *etenim* according to Zanzucchi's *Vocabolario*).

57-9. As observed by Professor Buckland, *est* seems to belong to a relative clause, which is moreover supported by the quite probable *q* after *re*. The difficulty then is to

avoid overloading the first half of l. 58, and the restoration attempted remains a trifle long even when the *id totum praestare debet* of Just. *Inst.* is reduced to the not very lucid *praeslet*. The remains at the beginning of the line accord with *[v]ersu[m]* fairly well. There are also some very slight vestiges at the beginning of l. 59, but they are altogether too scanty for recognition and have therefore been ignored. At the end of that line *inter . . .* [ would be a possible reading; *in rem . . .* [ is hardly suitable.

60. The letter before the supposed *r* may be *c* or *t*. The *r* of *praeio[r]* is written over something which has been washed out.

61. Perhaps *loqu[itur]* or *ut[itur]* with something like (?) *quidqu[id] paret* at the beginning of the next line; cf. Gaius i. 132 *lex . . . loquitur his verbis SI PATER* etc., ii. 104 *his verbis familiae emptor utitur FAMILIA* etc. But *ig[itur]* is of course also possible.

#### IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

##### (a) OFFICIAL.

###### 2104. RESCRIPT OF SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

28.1 x 17.5 cm.

A. D. 241?

This rescript of the Emperor Severus Alexander was addressed to the Greek community in Bithynia, but a copy was sent to the praefect of Egypt, the date of whose receipt of it was recorded in ll. 19-21. Unfortunately the text is too much mutilated for satisfactory restoration, and the thread is difficult to follow, but the subject is not in doubt. It relates to the right of appeal, the regulation of which frequently engaged the Emperors' attention; cf. Cod. Theod. xi. 30-8, Cod. Iust. vii. 62-70. Apparently complaints had been received of attempts on the part of the local authorities to curtail this right, and even of the forcible coercion of would-be appellants (ll. 9-10). In the reply here made some distinction was drawn between cases involving a capital penalty and others, and the former in certain circumstances were ordered to be referred to the Emperor himself (ll. 15-18); but the details are not clear. To suppose that appeal to the Emperor was permissible only against a capital sentence would conflict with other evidence; cf. Cod. Iust. vii. 62. 20 *et in maioribus et in minoribus negotiis appellandi facultas est* (A. D. 341), Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, pp. 469-70.

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ [θ]εοῦ Σευήρου Εὐσεβοῦς  
θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Μεγίστου υἱοῦ υἱὸς

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σευήρος Ἀλέξανδρος ἀρχιερέως  
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπάτος πατήρ πατρίδος  
5 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐν Βειθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων [χαίρειν.  
ἐκκαλεῖσθαι μὲν π[. . .]ν τίς κωλύει τὸ ὑπο . . . . .  
οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅτε ἐξ . . . [.]ν . ἰ . . . . .] ἐπιτραπ[. . . . .  
πολεῖν καὶ θάπ[τόν] ποτε πρὸς [τόδε] ἀφικνεῖται ὥστε  
βία χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκαλο[υμένους] καὶ . [.] . . . [ .  
10 τικη[. . . . .]ν καὶ ἀπλῶς [ 15 letters  
τὴν δεῦρο [ . . . ]ν ἀπαγορευ[ 12 ,, τοῖς  
ἡγουμένοις τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ π . . [ 12 ,,  
προρρήσει, εἰδότες δ[τ]ι . . . ]σ . . [ 14 ,, -  
μένων ἐλευθερί[ 21 ,,  
15 τοὺς μέντοι ἐκ κεφαλικῆς δίκ[η]ς 10 ,, ν-  
τας εἰ μὴ προσδεχθείη αὐτῶν [ 12 ,,  
. . εἰσα διασφα[λ]ίσασθ[α]ι μὴ δυνηθ . . [ 10 ,,  
[δ]ίκης πρὸς ἐμὲ δεῖν ἀποσταλῆν[α]ι.  
ἀνελήμφθη ὑπὸ Ἀννιαν[οῦ] τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου  
20 διασημότατα ἡγεμονεύοντος ἔτους τετάρτου?  
Μεσορῆ η.

6. ν of μεν corr. ὑπο: so in l. 19.

5. For this use of κοινόν cf. Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 136, who cites e. g. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* x. 104 τὸ κοινὸν Δηλίων, practically equivalent to οἱ Δῆλιοι.

6. ἐκκαλεῖσθαι: cf. 1642. 21, 32, 51, C. I. G. 355. 55 εἰν δὲ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τις ἢ ἐμὲ (sc. the emperor Hadrian) ἢ τὸν ἀνθύπατον, and n. on ἐκκλητος (δίκη) in 1408. 7. The imperial right ἐκκλητων δικάζειν goes back to Augustus, on whom it was conferred in 30 B. C. by popular vote (Dio li. 19).

8-9. Cf. Cod. Iust. vii. 62. 20 *nec enim iudicem oportet iniuriam sibi fieri existimare eo quod litigator ad provocationis auxilium convolavit.*

11. Possibly [ἔφει]ν (cf. 1185. 6, 1407. 15), the lacuna being perhaps just deep enough to include the tail of a φ and the base of ι.

15. κεφαλικὴ δίκη = *actio capitalis*; the slight vestiges suit δίκη, which seems the natural word, sufficiently well.

17. Some vestiges below the line just before the papyrus breaks off rather suggest δυνηθείη, but may be deceptive.

19-20. Annianus is known from P. Strassb. 41, whence it appears that he was in office in A. D. 241. Very likely his praefecture extended into the fifth year of Gordian, if, as Preisigke suggests, Cod. Iust. vii. 55. 2 was addressed to him. διασημότατα ἡγεμονεύων is an unusual variant for διασημότατος ἡγεμών. The supplements in these two lines are a little long in comparison with those indicated above.

## 2105. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT.

5 x 6.9 cm.

A. D. 147-8.

A fragment of an edict issued by M. Petronius Honoratus, who was praefect in the tenth and eleventh years of Antoninus, publishing the date and other particulars of a triennial contest held in honour of Livia and another deified member of the Imperial line, whose name is lost (l. 4, n.). Nothing further seems to be known of this festival, though it must have had a considerable local importance, nor is there any clear indication of its nature, whether athletic or artistic. The text is written in a clear upright semicursive hand well suited to a public notice.

[Μάρκος Πετρώνιος Ὀνωράτος ἑ[παρχος Αἰγύπτου  
λέγει [  
[ὁ . . . . .] μ[ενος τριετηρικῶ[ς] ἀγῶ[ν] . . . . .  
[. . . . .] ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν Λιβίας καὶ[ι] . . . . .  
5 [. . . . .] . ι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης τοῦ εἰσιόντος?  
[. . . . .] μ[η]νὸς ἀγωνοθέτου π[. . . . .]  
[. . . . .] ν ἀκολουθῶς οἷς ἐπέ[στειλαν]? . . . . .  
[. . . . .] ἰων καὶ Σεπτίμιος Ν[. . . . .]  
[ 13 letters ? γυμνασί]αρχοι ὑπ[. . . . .]  
10 [ 19 ,, ] . τηστοα[. . . . .]  
[ 21 ,, ] . τ[ι] . [

3. Perhaps [ὁ ἐξ ἔθους ἀγόμε]νος or [ὁ νενομισμ]ένος. The estimate of the number of letters lost at the beginning of this and the following lines is based on the assumption that they ranged with l. 1, which, however, may have protruded slightly.

4. What name was here associated with that of Livia? Not Tiberius, who would naturally have preceded. Possibly Antonia minor (καὶ[ι] Ἀντωνίας | Σεβαστῶν?), in honour of whom as well as of Livia horse-races were instituted by Claudius according to Dio lx. 5. But perhaps the name of Germanicus is more likely. Λειβίδηα (sic) at Chalcis are mentioned in an inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. 443, and Γερμανίκη in C. I. A. iii. 1079.

5. The probable iota is adjoined on the left by a cross-stroke which is too high for a and suits e. g. ε or τ.

6. ἀγωνοθέτου: cf. 1416. 5, n., 2144. 27. The following π[ may well be the first letter of his name.

10. τῆς τὸ α[ or τῆ στοᾶ?

## 2106. LETTER OF A PRAEFECT.

24.7 x 15.6 cm.

Early fourth century.

Copy of an important letter emanating evidently from a praefect, whose name is not preserved, to the authorities at Oxyrhynchus, announcing that an Imperial order had been received for the collection of a quantity of gold which was to be delivered within a stated period at Nicomedia in Bithynia, and giving specific instructions for the collection of the amount required from the Oxyrhynchite nome. Though the order speaks of purchase (l. 4 *συνωνηθῆναι*), and a price is fixed by the praefect (ll. 20-2), it is clear from the instructions given and the language used, that a levy (*εἰσφορά*, l. 15) was really involved. The period is not earlier than the reign of Diocletian (cf. ll. 2-3), and a date early in the fourth century suits the value of gold (l. 20, n.), as well as the handwriting. A Latin subscription appended to the original was omitted in the copy (l. 27).

[. . . . .] μ[. . . . .] Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) ἑ[ρχο]υσι καὶ βουλῇ καὶ [λο]-  
γιστῇ Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου) χαίρειν.  
ἡ θεία καὶ [σεβασμία τύχη τ]ῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρα-  
τόρων τε καὶ[ι] Καισάρων προσ]έταξεν γραμμάτων θείων πρὸς  
μὲ ἀποσταλέ[ντων χρύσου] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίου συνωνηθῆ-  
5 ναι. φροντῖς ὑμῶ[ν] ἔστω,] τοῦ πράγματος ὑπέρθεσιν  
οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδεχομένου, προστέτακται γὰρ εἶσω δ  
τοῦ Θωθ μη(νὸς) ὁ πᾶς χρυσὸς ἐν Νικομηδίᾳ παρα-  
δοθῆναι, ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν λ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἶσω τῆς  
ε τοῦ Μεσορῆ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν κατοσίωσιν τὴν  
10 ἡμετέραν ἐνδικνυμένοι(ς), λη μόνας λ(ίτρας) ἀπαιτῆσαι  
παρ' ἐκάστου κατὰ δύναμειν καὶ ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν λαμ-  
πρὰν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν, δηλαδὴ ταύτας κομιζόν-  
των σοῦ τε τοῦ λογιστοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς ἐξ ὑμῶν τοῦ τὴν  
πρώτην τάξιν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπέχοντος, συμβαλ-  
15 λομένων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ εἰσφορᾷ ταύτῃ τῶν τε  
τὴν τ[. . .]. [ο]υσα[ν] ὕλην πραγματευομένων καὶ τῶν  
δυν[α]τ[ω]τ[ῶ]ν ὄντων, οὐκ ἐν[ο]χλουμένων δὲ  
τῶν ξένων] εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ ἐφέστ[ιον] αὐτόθι κατ-  
εστήσαντο καὶ μηδέπω ἐπολιτεύσαντο εὔπο-

20 ροί τε δντ[ε]ς τυγχάνουσιν, δέκα μυριάδων δη-  
 λαδὴ ὑπέ[ρ] ἐκάστης λίτρας ἀριθμουμένων τοῖς  
 παρέχου[σ]ιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου. καὶ ἵνα  
 ἐπὶ τῶν τῶπων τὸ τίμημα τούτων ἐξ ἐτοίμου  
 τούτοις καταβληθείη ἐπέστειλα τῷ κυρίῳ μου  
 25 καὶ ἀδελφῷ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ καθολικῷ ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς  
 προστάξειεν τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.  
 ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι. μεθ' ἃ Ῥωμαϊκά.

1. οξυρυχ(ιτων) . . . βουλη και added above the line. 8. τουτ'. 9. ε' . . . κατ :  
 1. καθ. 10. 1. ὑμετέραν. λη". 16. ι τ of και των corr. 18. ξ of ξε[ων] corr. from τ.  
 κατ'. 26. ν (?) of προσταξειεν corr. α of ποιησαι corr. from ι.

. . . to the magistrates and senate of Oxyrhynchus and the logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. The godlike and august fortune of our masters the Emperors and Caesars has commanded by a divine letter sent to me the purchase of gold from the province. Make it your care—and the matter brooks no delay, for it has been commanded that all the gold shall be delivered at Nicomedia by the 4th of Thoth—within 30 days, that is, by the 5th of Mesore, herein too displaying your devotion, to demand 38 pounds only, from every one according to their means, and bring it to the illustrious city of Alexandria; let it be conveyed by you the logistes and one of your number who holds the first place in the magistracy, and let assistance be given you in this contribution by those whose business is with the . . . material and those who are best able, but let no burden be laid on strangers unless they have established homes and have not yet been senators and happen to be well-to-do. Ten myriads for each pound shall be paid to those providing it by the sacred Treasury; and in order that the price may be paid on the spot in ready money I have sent to my lord and brother the most eminent catholicus so that he may command the overseers to do this. I pray for your health. Followed by Latin.'

4. That χρῦσον is the word to be supplied appears to follow from l. 7, notwithstanding l. 16; for the collocation χρῦσον συνωνηθῆναι cf. the title χρυσώνης, which makes its appearance in the fourth century. For τῆς ἐπαρχίου cf. e. g. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 33 ἡγούμενος τῆς ἐπ.

5. ὑμῖν is very uncertain, but is commended by a stroke below the line suiting ι and difficult to combine with φροντίσασ[ε]; for φροντίσασ[θα]ι there is not sufficient space. The asyndeton is unobjectionable; cf. e. g. 1119. 23. There would be room for one or two more letters after ὑμῖν, but γενέσθω in place of ἔστω is perhaps overlong. Owing to a junction of two selides the spacing in the middle of the lines tends to be irregular in this document.

9. Cf. Suid. δασύτης' ἢ πρὸς θεὸν καθοσίωσις.

16. The letter after τῆν is either τ or π. π[ρ]ε[π]ο[υ]σαν would not be unsuitable, but the phrase seems unnatural in connexion with gold, if χρῦσον is rightly restored in l. 4.

18. For ἐφέσ[τιον] cf. e. g. 1206. 3.

20. δέκα μυριάδων: i. e. of denarii. On the value of gold at this period see 1430. int. 100,000 denarii for a pound of gold is just double the rate fixed in the tariff of Diocletian; in 1430, of A. D. 324, a rate of over 300,000 is implied. A date near the beginning of the fourth century is thus indicated for 2106.

## 2107. ORDER TO IRENARCHS.

15.4 X 14.2 cm.

A. D. 262.

An order from Valerius Titianianus, who bears the title κράτιστος and was not improbably the epistrategus, to the irenarchs of the Oxyrhynchite nome, directing them to send a certain person for the discharge of a duty which had been imposed on him by the praefect, failing which the praefect himself would deal with the case. These irenarchs, like those in e. g. 80, were the superior officials whose competence extended over the whole nome: there were also irenarchs of toparchies, as shown by 2108. 4-5, and subsequently of pagi (P. Thead. 24-5), as well as of villages (e. g. 1505). Since 2108 is earlier than 2107, the possibility of a progressive degradation of the office, suggested by Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 279, is now definitely excluded.

Οὐαλέριος Τιτανιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος  
 εἰρηνάρχαις Ὁξυρυχίτου χαίρειν.  
 τὸν Σπαρτιάτου υἱὸν σπουδῇ ὑμῖν  
 γενέσθω ἀποστεῖλαι μετὰ παντὸς τὰ-  
 5 χους ἢ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πληρώσοντα τὰ προστα-  
 χθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου λαμπροτάτου  
 ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Αὐρηλίου Θεοδότου  
 ἢ παραπεμφθῆσόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ μέγε-  
 θος αὐτοῦ. (2nd hand) ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εἴη.

1st (?) hand 10 ι (ἔτους) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Πουπλίου  
 Δικιννίου Γ[α]λλιηνοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Ἀθῦρ ια.

'His excellency Valerius Titianianus to the irenarchs of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Use your best endeavours to dispatch the son of Spartiates with all speed either to perform before me the orders of my lord our most illustrious praefect Aurelius Theodotus or to be sent on to his highness. I hope for your health. The 10th year of our lord Publius Licinnius Gallienus Augustus, Hathur 11.'

7. This praefect is otherwise known only from P. Strassb. 5, which is also dated in the 10th year (month lost, l. 21).

9. ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εἴη; an unusual formula, which is not recorded either by Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, or by Exler, *Study in Greek epistolography* (1923). The cross-bar of the η has disappeared with one of the fibres of the papyrus, but there is no doubt about the reading.

## 2108. LETTER FROM A STRATEGUS.

14 x 14.2 cm.

A.D. 259.

A letter from the strategus of the Hermopolite nome to the irenarchs of two Hermopolite toparchies (cf. 2107. int.) enclosing a copy of an announcement which he had received from the senate of Hermopolis for publication in the villages of their districts. Of the enclosure only the first two or three lines are preserved, and its purport is unknown.

Ἀυρήλιος Σεραπίων (?) ὁ καὶ . . . ῥίων στρατηγός Ἐρμιοπολίτου  
 Ἀυρηλίους Διοδ[ώ]ρ[φ] τῶ [κ]αὶ Διο[ν]υσ . . . [.] . . . [.] ( )  
 εὐθηνιαρχ(ήσαντι) Ἀλεξ(ανδρίας) καὶ Δημητρίω τῶ καὶ Νουμη-  
 νίω εὐθηνιαρχ(ήσαντι) Ἀλεξ(ανδρίας) εἰρηναρχ[α]ίς Μωχείτου  
 5 καὶ Πασκῶ τοῖς φίλτάτ[ο]ις χαίρει[ν].  
 ἡ κρατίστη βουλὴ πρόγραμμά μοι διεπέμψατο  
 πρὸς τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τόποις τῶν κωμῶν  
 προτεθῆναι. ἀντίγραφον οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστέλλω  
 ὑμῖν, φίλτατοι, ἵνα κατὰ κόμην ποιήσητε  
 10 προτεθῆναι. (2nd hand) ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, φίλτατ(οι).  
 1st hand (ἔτους) 5 Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Δικιννίου  
 [Οὐ]αλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Δικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλινοῦ  
 [Γερ]μανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου  
 [Δικιννίου] Κορνηλίου Σαλωνίνου Οὐαλεριανοῦ  
 15 [τοῦ ἐπιφανε]στάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν, Φαμενώθ α. ἀντίγραφον.  
 [Ἐρμου πόλεως] τῆς μεγάλης ἀ[ρ]χαί[ας] καὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ  
 [σεμνοτάτης] ἡ κρατίστη β[ου]λὴ διὰ Ἀυρηλίου  
 [ . . . . . ] . . . [.] . . . [ . . . . . ἀγορ]αν(μήσαντος) ἐνάρχου  
 [πρυτάνεως Ἀυρηλίω Σεραπίωνι κτλ.

15. ω of φαμενωθ slurred.

Aurelius Serapion also called . . . rion, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, to his most dear Aurelii, Diodorus also called Dionys . . . , ex-eutheniarch of Alexandria, and Demetrius also called Numenius, ex-eutheniarch of Alexandria, irenarchs of Mochites and Pasko, greeting. Their excellencies the senate have forwarded to me an announcement to be displayed in the most conspicuous places in the villages. I accordingly send you a copy, dear friends, in order that you may cause it to be displayed in every

village. I pray for your health, dear friends. The sixth year of the Emperors and Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices, and Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus the most eminent Caesar, Augusti, Phamenoth 1. Copy. Their excellencies the senate of Hermopolis the great, ancient, illustrious, and most august city, through Aurelius . . . , ex-agoranomous, prytanis in office, to Aurelius Serapion . . .

1. Possibly 'Ωρίων or 'Αρίων, but there would be room for a rather longer name.
2. The line may well have ended with an abbreviation of ἀγορανομήσαντι, but the letter after Διο[ν]υσ is blurred and the following vestiges are very slight. On the relative rank of the municipal officials at Alexandria see 1412. 1-3, n.
- 4-5. The Μωχ(ε)ίτης τόπος is mentioned repeatedly in the Reinach papyri; for Πασκῶ cf. e.g. P. Ryl. 99. 2.
13. Cf. 1273. 44, where the full name of Saloninus first occurred in a papyrus.
15. For the abbreviation ἀ(ντίγραφον) cf. 1428. 1, n.

## 2109. PUBLICATION OF AN OFFER FOR LEASE.

33 x 6.9 cm.

A.D. 261.

The main portion of this document is an offer, addressed to the prytanis in office, for the lease of certain premises belonging to the city of Oxyrhynchus in which the applicant proposed to open a shop. Prefixed to this, in a space purposely left blank, is a notice written a day or two later by the prytanis publishing the offer and inviting better ones. Cf. 1254, which is arranged in the same manner, and the further references there given. Like that papyrus 2109, as the changes of hand prove, was the original; the copy actually published was probably in a rather larger and more legible script.

<p>           Ἀυρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης            ὁ καὶ Σαβίνος γυμνασιαρχήσας)            βουλ(εύτης) καὶ ὡς            χρη(ματίζω), ἑναρχος πρύτανις            τῆς Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως,            5 διέπων καὶ τὰ πολιτικά.            τῆς δοθείσης αἰρέσεως            ὑπὸ τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς δηλουμέ-            νου πολιτικοῦ τύπου Κα-            πιτωλείου ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπηλιω-            10 τικὴν στοὰν πρὸς ἀνοιξιν            καπηλείου ἢ ἴση δημοσίᾳ         </p>	<p>           35 ἐξῆς μηνὸς [Με]χείρ τοῦ ἐνε-            στῶτος α (ἔτους) ἐνοικίου κατὰ μῆ-            να ἕκαστον δραχμῶν ὀκτώ.            βεβαιουμένης δέ μοι τῆς            ἐπιδοχῆς χρήσομαι τῶ ἐργα-            στηρίῳ σὺν τῇ τούτου εἰσό-            40 δῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον            ἀκωλύτως, καὶ ἀποδώσω τὸ            ἐνοίκιον κατὰ μῆνα τριακάδι            ἀνπερθέτως, καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ            χρόνου παραδώσω τὸν τόπον            45 καθαρὸν ἀπὸ κοπρίων καὶ ἀκαθαρ-         </p>
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πρόκειται ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι  
καὶ οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀμείνους  
αἰρέσεις διδόναι προσέλθωσι,  
15 τηρουμένου λόγου τῇ πό-  
λει περὶ ὧν ἔχει παντοίων  
δικαίων. σεσημ(είωμαι).  
(ἔτους) α τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μα-  
κριανοῦ  
καὶ Κυήτου Σεβαστῶν, Τύβι λ.  
2nd h. Αὐρηλίῳ Διοσκουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ  
21 Σαβείνῳ γυμνασιάρχῃσαντι  
ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει τῆς Ὀξυρυγ-  
χειτῶν πόλεως, διέποντι  
καὶ τὰ πολιτικά,  
25 παρὰ Αὐρηλί[ο]ν Ὀρίωνος Κολ-  
λούθου μητρὸς Τερεῦτος  
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. ἐκου-  
σίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθῶσασθαι  
ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως Καπιτω-  
30 λείῳ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπηλιωτικὴν  
σταῶν ἐργαστήριον πρὸς  
ἀνοιξιν καπηλείου εἰς ἐνιαυ-  
τὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ

11. ἴση.

12. ἵνα.

23. διέποντι.

57. σεβαστων—

(Notice by) Aurelius Dioscurides also called Sabinus, ex-gymnasiarch, senator, and however I am styled, prytanis in office of the city of Oxyrhynchus, director also of municipal finance. Of the offer made by the person stated therein for the site belonging to the city in the Capitol below the east colonnade, with a view to opening a tavern, a copy is publicly displayed, in order that all may know and those who wish to make better offers may come forward, without prejudice to rights of any kind pertaining to the city. Signed by me. 1st year of our lords Macrianus and Quietus, Tubi 30.

To Aur. Dioscurides also called Sabinus, ex-gymnasiarch, prytanis in office of the city of Oxyrhynchus, director also of municipal finance, from Aur. Horion son of Colluthus and Tereus, of Oxyrhynchus. I voluntarily engage to lease the workshop below the east colonnade in the city Capitol, with a view to opening a tavern, for one year from the first day of the next month Mecheir of the present first year at a monthly rent of eight drachmae. If my engagement is confirmed I am to use the workshop with its entrance and exit for the term

σίας πάσης κα[ὶ] ἂν παραλάβω  
θύρας καὶ κλείδας ἢ ἀποτίσω  
οὐ ἂν μὴ [π]α[ρ]α[δ]ῶ τὴν ἀξίαν  
τιμὴν, τῆς πράξεως οὐσης  
50 ὡς καθήκει. κυρία ἢ ἐπιδοχή, περὶ  
ἧς ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα.  
ἂν δὲ μὴ κυρωθῶ, οὐ κατασχε-  
θήσομαι τῆδε τῇ ὑποσχέσει.  
(ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων  
55 Τίτου Φουλίου Ἰουνίου Μα-  
κριανοῦ  
καὶ Τίτου Φουλ[ο]ίου Ἰουνίου  
Κυήτου  
Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν,  
Τύβι κη. (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος  
Ὀρεί-  
ων Κολλ[ο]ύθου ἐπιδέδω-  
60 κα ἐπιδεχόμε[νος] μισθῶ-  
σασθαι καὶ ἀποδώσω  
τὸ ἐν[ο]ικιον ὡς πρόκειται.  
Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ἔγρα-  
ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδόν-  
65 τος γράμματα.

without hindrance, and I will pay the rent on the 30th of each month without delay, and at the end of the term I will deliver the site, free of filth and all dirt, and any doors and keys received by me, or will forfeit the equivalent value of whatever I fail to deliver, right of execution duly subsisting. This engagement is valid, and in answer to the formal question concerning it I gave my consent. If my offer is not accepted, I am not to be bound by my promise.' Date, and signature of Horion, written for him by Aurelius Didymus.

5. Cf. ll. 24-5 and 55. 4, where also the prytanis in office is διέπων τὰ πολιτικά: his functions were, however, distinct from those of the ταμίης τῶν πολιτικῶν (55. 14-15).

8. Καπιτωλείου: cf. 43. verso iv. 3, 2128. 4.

11. ἡ ἴση (sc. γραφή or sim.) takes the place of the usual τὸ ἴσον.

13-14. For the phraseology cf. e.g. B. G. U. 656. 9 οἱ βουλόμενοι μισθῶσασθαι προσερ-  
χέσταν . . . ἔρεσει (= αἴρεσει) δίδοντες, 716. 22 τὴν ἀμείνονα αἴρεσει δίδοντι.

45-9. Cf. e.g. 912. 25-30.

52-3. Cf. P. Amh. 97. 17-18.

## 2110. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

28.4 x 71 cm.

A. D. 370.

Reports of debates in the local senates have tended to be fragmentary, and the following valuable specimen is the first of any extent which has been recovered in a good state of preservation. The discussion was here opened by a complaint from one of the members that although he was on the official list of persons designated for one of the major liturgies, the prytanis had nevertheless nominated him as an administrator of military clothing for the current year. After a collective protest on the part of the senators they proceed individually to support the complainant, and to maintain with one accord that the greater services carried exemption from the less, and that the action of the prytanis was *ultra vires*. The prytanis makes no comment, but finally bows to the general view, and announces that he will cancel the offensive appointment.

This text is instructive in several respects. Instances of the duplication of liturgical offices are not rare (cf. 1415. 18, 25, nn.), and the principle of exemption here insisted on does not seem to have been mentioned previously. With regard to the procedure of the senates, on which a good deal of light has been thrown by 1413-16, we now obtain a clear instance of the debate being opened by an ordinary member; cf. 1431. int., p. 32, and n. on l. 19 there. That the sitting began with *εὐφημία* (l. 2, n.) is a novel point. Note should also be taken of the power of the prytanis, who apparently could nominate to certain public offices on his own responsibility; cf. the somewhat analogous situation in P. Brit. Mus. 971 (iii, p. 128). This is an advance on 1414. 21, where a prytanis collected a few senators in order to expedite a nomination. Another matter of considerable interest is the use of the title *παγαρχία* with reference no doubt to the office of



*praepositus pagi* (l. 4, n.), whereas current views attribute to it a much later origin. Not less remarkable are the clear statements that the list of nominations to that and other important liturgical offices was not only drawn up with the active concurrence of the praefect of Egypt (ll. 4, 7-8, 24-5: cf. at an earlier period P. Amh. 64. 11 sqq.), but even referred to the *praefecti praetorio* and the Emperors themselves (ll. 11-12, 19), and was therefore regarded as drawing its validity from that exalted source (l. 12 ἐκίθεν τὸ κύρος ἔχει).

## Col. i.

Ἐπιτάξις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος αἰώνιων  
 Αὐγούστων τὸ γ, Φαῶθι θ,  
 βουλῆς οὐσης, πρυτανίας Κλαυδίου Ἑρμείου Γελασίου γυμνασιαρχήσαντος)  
 βουλευτοῦ, μετὰ τὰς εὐφημίας  
 καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς μέσον Θέωνος Ἀμμωνίου βουλευτοῦ διὰ Μακροβίου  
 υἱοῦ καὶ καταθεμένου οὕτως· οἶδατε καὶ ὑμῖς, συνβουλευταί,  
 ἔπι τῆς μελλοῦσης κήρας εἰμὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰκοσιτέσσαρες εἰμὶ τοῖς  
 διατυπωθείσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Τατιανοῦ εἰς τὰς  
 παγαρχίας καὶ κονδου-  
 5 κτορίας, καὶ ἴσως κατ' ἄγνοιαν ὁ πρόεδρος ἐχιροτόνησέν με εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν  
 τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐρεᾶς ἐσθῆτος τῆς ἰδ (ἔτους) Ἰνδικ(τίονος), μάλιστα νῦν  
 ἵπποτ[ρο]φου τυγχάνοντός μου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρατίθημι ἐν ὑμῖν ὡς οὐ  
 χρὴ λύεσθαι τὰ διατυπωθέντα. οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐφώνησαν· κύριον τὸ κατὰ  
 κήραν  
 οὐ [χ]ρὴ παραλύεσθαι τὰ καλῶς διατυπωθέντα. Πτολεμίος λογιστεύσας  
 εἶπ(εν)· βέβαια καὶ ἀσάλευτα χρὴ εἶναι τὰ διατυπωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου  
 λαμπροτάτου Τατιανοῦ ἐκ συναινέσεως παντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ὥστε μὴ  
 λειτουργεῖν τοὺς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας εἰς μὴδ' ὀτιοῦν λειτούργημα ἀλλὰ  
 ἔχειν ἐπὶ ταῖς βαρυτέραις λειτουργίαις, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανίας ταύτης  
 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρυτανεῦν. εἰ δὲ βούλεται [σ] τις  
 10 [λ]ειτουργεῖν εἰς ἕτερον λειτούργημα, οὐ κινδύνω τοῦ βουλευτηρίου λει-  
 τουργεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ὀφείλει Μακρόβιος ἐνοχλεῖσθαι. Γερόντιος ἑξακτο-  
 [ρεύσας εἶπ(εν)] τὰ καλῶς διατυπωθέντα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίμου γενόμενα  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου Τατιανοῦ καὶ ἀνενεχθέντα πρὸς τοὺς  
 δεσπότης ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους μου τοὺς λαμπροτάτους) ἐπάρχους  
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ ἐκίθεν τὸ κύρος ἔχει, ὅθεν οὐ προσήκόν

ἔστιν Μακρόβιον ὀχλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πρυτάνεως οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μελλο-  
 πρυτάνεως εἰς ἐτέρας ἐπιμελείας. Σαρμάτης λογιστεύσας εἶπ(εν)  
 ἴσως κατ' ἄγνοιαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἑρμείας ὁ πρόεδρος ἔλαβεν Μακρό-  
 βιον ὄντα ἐκ τῶν κδ τῶν διατυπωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου  
 15 [Τα]τιανοῦ, οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ὀφίλει ἐνοχλεῖσθαι προφάσει ἐπιμελείας. εἰ  
 δὲ βουλευθεῖη τις ἐκ τῶν κδ ἀμβιτεύειν, οἶδεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κίνδυνον.  
 [·]μο . . . [·] . . . εἶπ(εν)· οὐκ ὀφίλει τις ἐκ τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων τῶν  
 διατυπωθέντων ἐκ τῆς καθαρότητος τοῦ κυρίου μου Τατιανοῦ  
 [·] . . . [·] . . . αλ . . . προέδρων, Μακρόβιος δὲ νῦν οὐκ ὀφίλει  
 ἐνοχλεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐρεᾶς  
 [ἐσθῆτος οὐδ'] εἰς ἕτερον τι, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ταῖς βαρυτάταις λειτουρ-  
 γείαις. Ἀμμωνιανὸς ἑξακτορεύσας εἶπ(εν)· τὰ καλῶς διατυπωθέντα  
 [κα] μετὰ . . . εἰς καὶ ἀρέσαντα τ[ο]ῖς [ε]π[ο]π[ο]τα[ί]ς  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μου τοῖς λαμπροτάτοις ἐπάρχοις οὐ χρὴ  
 20 παραλύεσθαι οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ νῦν πρυτάνεως οὔτε ὑπὸ [μελλόντων] πρυτάνεων,  
 ὅθεν οὐκ ὀφίλει Μακρόβιος ἐνοχλεῖσθαι εἰς ἐτέρας λειτουρ-  
 γείας. Οὐαλέριος Εὐδαίμονος γυμνασιαρχήσας εἶπ(εν)· οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκόλουθον  
 ἡμῖν ἔτι πράξαι τι ἐκτὸς τῶν διατυπωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου  
 Τατιανοῦ,  
 [δ]θεν οὐκ ὀφίλει Μακρόβιος οὐτ' ἕτερός τις τεκ . . . [·] ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι  
 εἰς τὸ παράπαν ἀλλὰ τούτους φυλάττεσθαι τῇ [κα]λῶς γενομένῃ

1. l. Φαῶφι. 3. υἱοῦ. 4. l. εἰκοσιτέσσαρσιν. ὑπο. 5. κατ': SO ll. 14, 32.  
 6. ὑμῶν. 8. s of εις CORR. μὴδ' . . . λειτουρ'γ. 10. ουκ': SO l. 16, 20-3, 26, 30, 37-8.  
 12. ἱεροῦ. 16. τ of τις CORR. from σ. 18. οὐδ'. γ of λειτουργείας CORR. 20. λειτουρ'.  
 22. ουτ' (l. οὐδ'). τ of ετερος CORR. from ι and s from ν. φυλαττεσθαι.

## Col. ii.

διοικήσι. Μακρόβιος ῥιπάριος εἶπ(εν)· εἰς ὧν ἐκ τῶν κδ Μακρόβιος οὐκ  
 ὀφίλει εἰς ἕτερον  
 λειτούργημα ἐνοχλεῖσθαι. Ἀχιλλεὺς Πόσι ῥιπάριος εἶπ(εν)· χάριν τότε  
 πάντες  
 25 ὡμολογήσαμεν ἐπὶ τῇ καλῶς γενομένῃ διοικήσει ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ λαμ-  
 (προτάτου) Τατιανοῦ

οὐκ ὀφίλει Μακρόβιος τοίνυν ἐνοχλείσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς στρα-  
 τιωτικῆς  
 ἐρεᾶς ἐσθῆτος οὐδὲ εἰς ἕτερόν τι λειτούργημα, διὰ τὸ ἓνα αὐτὸν εἶναι  
 τῶν κδ.  
 Ζωῖλος Διονυσίου γυμνασιάρχης) εἶπ(εν)· κάγω σύνψηφός εἰμι ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 κατατεθείσιν  
 ὑπὸ τῆς κοινότητος ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλείσθαι τοὺς κδ τούτους οὔτε ὑπὸ (τοῦ  
 νῦν πρυτάνεως οὔτε ὑπὸ?) τῶν  
 30 μελλόντων πρυτανεύειν· ὅθεν οὐκ ὀφίλει Μακρόβιος ἐνοχλείσθαι μάλ(λ)ιστα  
 εἰς ὧν τῶν κδ. Θέων Εὐσεβίου πρυτανεύσας εἶπ(εν)· ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν  
 ὁ πρόεδρος  
 ἴσως κατ' ἀγνοίαν μὴ γινώσκων Θέωνα διὰ Μακροβίου υἱοῦ ὄντα ἐκ τῶν  
 κδ ἀνδρῶν  
 τῶν διατυπωθέντων εἰς τὰς βαρυτέρας λειτουργίας ὑπέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν  
 ἐσθῆτα, ὅθεν {δ'} ὀνε[ι]δίζομεν ὡς οὐ προσήκει αὐτὸν ἐνοχλείσθαι προφάσι  
 ἐπιμελείας  
 35 τῆς αὐτῆς ἐρεᾶς ἐσθῆτος. Εὐλογίος Πτολεμαίου γυμνασιάρχης) εἶπ(εν)·  
 Θέων Ἀμμωνίου διὰ  
 Μακροβίου υἱοῦ εἰς ὧν τῶν διατυπωθέντων κδ εἰς τὰς βαρυτάτας λειτουργίας  
 {καὶ}  
 οὐκ ὀφίλει ὀχλησίν τινα παθεῖν προφάσι ἑτερῶν λειτουργιῶν. ὁ πρύτανις  
 εἶπ(εν)  
 ὅσα κοινῇ τε καὶ καθ' ἑν προηνέγκεσθαι ἔχει ἢ πίστις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων,  
 καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐνοχληθήσεται Μακρόβιος εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐρεᾶς  
 ἐσθῆτος  
 40 τῆς ιδ (ἔτους) ἰνδικ(τίονος).  
 2nd h. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος σκρίβας ἐξεδόμην τὰ ὑπομνήματα.

26. ο of οφίλει rewritten. 32. ἴσως. 34. οθεν δ'. 37. εἶπ(εν) rewritten.  
 38. προηγέκ. 1. προηγέκεσθε.

'In the third consulship of our masters Valentinian and Valens, eternal Augusti, Phaophi 9, at a meeting of the senate, in the prytany of Claudius Hermias son of Gelasius, ex-gymnasiarch and senator, after the plaudits Theon son of Ammonius, senator, represented by his son, stood forward and made the following statement: "Fellow councillors, you know as well as I that my name is on the tablet that is about to come into force and

that I am among the twenty-four ordained by our lord the most illustrious Tatianus for the pagarchies and contractorships. Owing perhaps to ignorance the president has appointed me to the administration of the soldiers' woollen clothing for the 14th indiction, although I am at present a large breeder of horses; wherefore I put it to you that the ordinances should not be infringed." The senators cried, "What is on the tablet is valid: what has been rightly ordained must not be infringed". Ptoleminus, ex-logistes said, "What has been ordained by our lord the most illustrious Tatianus with the approval of the whole senate must stand fast and unshaken, so that the twenty-four should not serve in any other service whatever but keep to the heavier liturgies, not only in this but in future prytanies. If however any one wishes to serve in another service, he does not do so on the responsibility of the senate, and Macrobius ought not to be burdened". Gerontius, ex-exactor said, "What has been rightly ordained and legally done by my lord Tatianus and referred to our sovereigns and to our lords the most illustrious praefects of the sacred praetorium has its validity from them, and hence it is not proper for Macrobius to be burdened by either the prytanis or the future prytanis with other administrations". Sarmates, ex-logistes, said, "Perhaps it was in ignorance that our brother Hermias the president impressed Macrobius who is among the 24 ordained by my lord Tatianus, and he ought not to be burdened on the score of an administration. But if any one of the 24 should wish to be ostentatious (?), he knows his own responsibility". . . . said, "One of the twenty-four ordained by the rectitude of my lord Tatianus ought not to (suffer through the fault of?) presidents, and Macrobius ought not now to be burdened with the administration of the soldiers' woollen clothing nor anything else, but should be satisfied with the heavy liturgies". Ammonianus, ex-exactor, said, "What has been rightly and . . . ordained and has been approved by the masters of the world and by my lords the most illustrious praefects should not be infringed either by the present prytanis or by future prytaneis, and therefore Macrobius ought not to be burdened with other liturgies". Valerius son of Eudaemon, ex-gymnasiarch, said, "It is not seemly for us to do anything beyond what has been ordained by my lord Tatianus, and therefore Macrobius or any other [of the 24?] ought to be quite free from obscure attacks and should instead be protected by the disposition that has been rightly made". Macrobius, police-officer, said, "Being one of the 24 Macrobius ought not to be burdened with another service". Achilles son of Posi, police-officer, said, "We all returned thanks at the time for the disposition rightly made by our lord the most illustrious Tatianus; Macrobius accordingly ought not to be burdened with the administration of the soldiers' woollen clothing nor any other service, because he is one of the 24". Zoilus son of Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch, said, "I too am in agreement with the view that has been generally expressed that these 24 should not be burdened (either by the present prytanis) or by future prytaneis; Macrobius therefore ought not to be burdened, especially as he is one of the 24". Theon son of Eusebius, ex-prytanis, said, "Perhaps our brother the president in ignorance, being unaware that Theon through his son Macrobius is among the 24 persons ordained for the heavier liturgies, imposed upon him the clothing; we therefore find fault saying that it is not right that he should be burdened on the score of the administration of the said woollen clothing". Eulogius son of Ptolemaeus, ex-gymnasiarch, said, "Theon son of Ammonius through his son Macrobius is one of the 24 ordained for the heaviest liturgies and ought not to suffer any burden on the score of other liturgies". The prytanis said, "What you have collectively and individually urged is in the safe keeping of the minutes, and Macrobius shall not be burdened with the administration of the soldiers' woollen clothing for the 14th indiction". (Signed) I, Aurelius Isidorus, scribe, drew up the minutes.'

2. Cf. 1103. 2, where on the analogy of the present passage πρυτ( ) is to be expanded

πρωτ(ανίας) rather than πρωτ(ανεύουτος). What precisely is meant by τὰς εὐφημίας is not very clear. The word is used several times by Herodian of popular acclamations, e.g. iii. 8. 6 ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸν θαυμάζων μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ εὐφ. ὑπεδέξατο; cf. Constantin. Porph. *De adm. imp.* 46 τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ εἶωθός εὐφημίας. In ecclesiastical parlance it came to mean thanksgiving, a sense for which Ducange cites *Eucholog.* p. 633 εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀρχεται τῆς εὐφημίας. Was some demonstration of loyalty or piety usual at the commencement of the sittings, or did the senators merely acclaim their president?

3. καταθεμένου: cf. l. 28 and e.g. B. G. U. 1094. 6 (A. D. 525) κα[τ]έθετο [ἐ]π' ἐμοῦ . . . ὅτι κτλ.

4. κήρας: cf. l. 6; this appears to be the first occurrence in Greek of the feminine form. The use of κήρα here lends some support to the view that in P. Giessen 54. 7 (W. 420) ἐκρηούσθη ἢ ὀνομασία σου the verb is after all a misspelling of ἐκρηώθη rather than ἐκρωώθη.

εἰκοσιτέσσαρες: how this number was made up remains in doubt. The *pagi* of the Oxyrhynchite nome are not known to have been more than ten; cf. 1425. 4, n. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 301, infers from 1190 that there were two *praepositi* for each *pagus*, but that is a rather hazardous conclusion from a single instance and has to contend with the fact that only one *praepositus* is usually mentioned, who might on occasion act for two *pagi* (P. Flor. 34. 4). On the other hand fourteen would be large balance for the *κονδοκτορία*. This term has occurred in 900. 6 with reference to the δέξιν δρόμος or express postal service (cf. 2115), but to what other functions it was applicable has yet to be ascertained. Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 97 (A. D. 383) *excepta dioecesi Aegyptiaca . . . ne usquam penitus in susceptionem vel minimi vectigalis decurio conductor accedat* shows that at this period taxes were still levied in Egypt through contractors, though, as observed by M. Gelzer, *Studien z. byz. Verwaltung Aegyptens*, p. 45, concrete examples are not forthcoming in the papyri.—For διατυπωθεῖσιν cf. 1103. 7, n., P. Cairo Masp. 67353. 30 τοῖς διατυπωθεῖσι παρ' ἐμοῦ ὁρίσμοις.

Tatianus: i. e. Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, who was praefect A. D. 367–70; l. 1 shows that he was not superseded before September of the latter year.

παγάρχιας: as already pointed out in the int. above, this is considerably the oldest mention in a papyrus of the office of pagarch, which at a later period became in Egypt so important. The inference drawn by Gelzer, *op. cit.* p. 96, from *Wiener Stud.* v. 3, that pagarchs were later than A. D. 487 was erroneous. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 83, considered it indubitable that the powerful *παγάρχαι* of the sixth century had nothing to do with the modest *praepositi pagorum* of earlier days. That view also is now hardly tenable. Possibly the change in official nomenclature was accompanied by some modification in function, but evidently the *παγάρχια* of the present passage was in effect the office of *praepositus*, which title was apparently discontinued at about this time. According to Gelzer, *op. cit.* p. 96, followed by Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 83,<sup>1</sup> the latest mention of a *praepositus pagi* is A. D. 411, but that statement rests on a misinterpretation of the data of Wessely, *Wiener Stud.* xxiv. 125, s. v. *Βενεφικιάριος*, where a stop is to be inserted after *ιδ πάγον*: Führer No. 331, of the year 411, is a contract of sale. I have failed to find a mention of a *praepositus* subsequent to the date of 2110, but the term may well have survived for some time after the official adoption of *παγάρχης*. The verb *παγαρχεῖν* as an alternative to *πρωτόσπιτος εἶναι*, as noted by Gelzer, p. 96<sup>1</sup>, is found already before the end of May, 337, in Cod. Theod. viii. 15. 1, according to the practically certain emendation of Gothofredus; cf. Isidorus Pelus. ii. 91 (Migne lxxviii. 536) *παγάρχοι καλοῦνται παρὰ τισιν οἱ τῶν κομῶν ἢ τόπων τιῶν ἀρχοντες*, Bell, *J. H. S.* xxviii. 103. By what steps the office of pagarch became transformed during the course of the fifth century we have yet to learn.

5. πρόεδρος similarly replaces *πρύτανις* in ll. 14, 17, 31; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 233. 3–4 (ii, p. 373 = W. 44) where *πρύτανις* and *προπολιτευόμενος* occur together. 2110 provides one of the latest instances of the use of the older term *πρύτανις* and its derivatives.

ἐπιμέλειαν . . . ἐσθῆτος: cf. e.g. P. Leipz. 60. 5 [ἐ]πιμελητοῦ ἐσθῆτος στρατιωτικῆς, and, for other references to the *vestis militaris*, 1905. 3–6, n.

12. δεσ[πάτας]: i. e. the Emperors; cf. l. 19.

13. For *μελλοσπρυτάνεως* cf. 1414. 24 and P. Giessen 54. 6 *μελλοσπρόεδρου*.

14. ἵ[π]έλαβεν: or perhaps κ[ατ]έλαβεν. l. 33 suggests that ἵ[π]έλαβεν might be a clerical error for ἵ[π]έβαλεν, for which cf. e.g. 900. 6 ὑποβληθέντος . . . εἰς κονδοκτορίαν, but the absence of εἰς . . . is against the correction.

15. εἰ δὲ βουλευθῆι κτλ.: this sentence clearly corresponds to εἰ δὲ . . . λουτουργεῖ in ll. 9–10. Of ἀμβιτεύειν the only instance cited by Ducange is Palladius, *Vit. Chrys.* 36 c μὴ ἀμβιτεύσας τὸ πρᾶγμα.

17. The initial vestiges are mostly very slight; the word preceding *προέδρων* is apparently not ἄγροια, nor is ἄλλων or μελλο- to be read.

18. αυτον: -τος is less suitable; for the construction cf. l. 22.

22. τεκ is difficult in this context and it seems not unlikely that τας ἐκ τῶν [κδ] should be read, the τ being a clerical slip comparable to those in ll. 9, 12, 15, 30, 34. For ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι cf. P. Brit. Mus. 971. 9 εἰς τί αὐτῶ ὁ πρόεδρος ἐπεβούλευσεν;

41. The secretary of the senate would naturally be responsible for the minutes, and this signature need not be connected with the regulation that instructions issued by the senate concerning the appointment of *ἐπιμεληται* should be signed by the *σκριβας* (1191). For the meaning of *ἐξεδόμεν* cf. A. B. Schwarz, *Die öff. u. priv. Urkunden*, p. 284.

## 2111. JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

26.2 x 38.3 cm.

About A. D. 135.

Part of a report of cases heard before the praefect Petronius Mamertinus, who was in office A. D. 133–5; this copy, however, which is in a large upright hand approximating to the literary type, was not necessarily written in one of those years, though it does not appear to be appreciably later. The roll was cut up in order that use might be made of the verso, and the section here preserved, on the back of which is 2120, comprises portions of two broad columns of which the prior lacks at the beginning of lines about twenty-four letters, as proved by l. 10, while in the second more than three-quarters of each line is missing. Restoration is thus hazardous even in those parts of Col. i where the sense is more or less evident, and is out of the question in Col. ii. The several cases, of which three are here concerned, were marked off by a horizontal line drawn across the column. The first case (ll. 1–12), of which the opening is missing, related to a loan which the heirs of the creditor sought to recover on evidence admittedly not very conclusive (l. 5); it turned partly on a contested plea of illiteracy on the part of a woman. A decision was left by the praefect to a delegate whom he undertook to appoint on the fulfilment of certain conditions relating to the debtor. In the second case (ll. 13–19) the plaintiff was a woman who claimed relief under the *lex Laetoria* from taxation, and was opposed by

two farmers of the tax on sale and mortgage in the Mendesian nome. Here too, apparently, judgement was deferred, against the wishes of the tax-farmers. Case 3, which begins in l. 20 and is continued in the following column (see n. on l. 25), was of a more serious nature. It arose, according to the opening statement, out of a quarrel between a man and a woman, Sarapion and Ptolema, whose relationship is not given, over some property which had been left to the latter, in her view as an absolute possession, while Sarapion contended that she only had the usufruct of what he should succeed to. Fearing to lose it, he had strangled her. Owing to the very defective character of Col. ii the further details are obscure, as is also the precise nature of the point at issue; presumably it was the claim of the persons named at the outset to the property of which Sarapion had possessed himself.

## Col. i.

- [ 24 l ]ν πολειτείαν υἰὸν ἐδήλωσεν ἀγράμματος εἶναι ο[. . .]ν  
 [ 23 „ ]ματι ψευσαμένη, ἡτιᾶτο δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκέτι  
 τοῦτο ὁμο-  
 [ 24 letters ] ἐν ἄλλοις κατακεχρηματισμένη καὶ δύναται ἀγωγὴν  
 ἔχειν  
 [ 23 letters ] αὐτὸν μέμφεται. οὐ πάντως δὲ τὸ δάνειον ἀκυροῦν διὰ  
 τοῦτο.  
 5 [προσῆκει, καὶ εἰ περιῆν . . . .]εἰτος, ἴσως ἂν καὶ ἐναργεστέρας παρέσχευ  
 ἀποδείξεις τοῦ δα-  
 [νείου, ἀλλὰ τανῦν ἐπειδὴ τετ]ελεύτηκεν ἐκεῖνος οἱ κληρονόμοι ἀρκοῦνται  
 τῇ διὰ τῶν γραμ-  
 [μάτων ἀποδείξει. Κλα]ύδιος Σαραπίων εἶπεν· οὐχ ἡ μήτηρ ἐ[π]ήγαγεν τὸν  
 υἰὸν ἡνί-  
 [κα 15 letters ἀλλὰ ὁ πα]τήρ, ὅτι δὲ ἠπίστατο γράμματα ἡ γυνὴ δηλὸν  
 σοι ἐγένετο  
 [ἐξ ὧν 13 letters ἐν ταῖς ἐ]μπροσθεν ἡμέραις ἔγραψεν κελευσθεῖσα. Πε-  
 τρώνιος  
 10 [Μαμερτεῖνος σκεψάμενος με]τὰ τῶν ἐν συμβουλίῳ εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ τετελεύ-  
 τηκεν ὁ πα-  
 [τήρ, ἐὰν ? 17 letters ]μαι δανειστῆς εἰς δν τὸ εὐθυνόμενον τῆς ὀφειλῆς  
 γράμμα ἐστίν, κριτῆς  
 [δοθήσεται δς ? . . . . .]ει.

- [. . . . . ρήτωρ ὑπὲρ . . . . .]ς Κλαυδίας Ζωσίμης τῆς καὶ Ἐρμιόνης  
 εἶπεν· ἐνέτυχέν σο[ι] διὰ  
 [ 13 letters ἡ Ζωσίμη ὡς ἀδ]ικουμένη, λέγουσα περιγεγράφθαι καὶ ἀξιόουσα  
 ἀκου[σθ]ῆναι  
 15 [ 24 letters ] βοηθεῖσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαιτωρίου νόμου, καὶ ἔσχεν  
 ὑπογραφὴν  
 [ 23 letters ] νῦν οὖν παρούσα καὶ ἐπιδεικνύουσα ἑαυτὴν νεωτέραν  
 τῶν νο-  
 [μίμων ἐτῶν, ἐν ἀφηλίκων ἀξιο]ῖ τῇ τάξει γενέσθαι. Πετρώνιος Μαμερ-  
 τεῖνος· ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὴν  
 [Ζωσίμην εἶπεν· . . . . .]· εἰ. Κεφαλίωνος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τελω-  
 νῶν ἐνκυκλίου Μενδη-  
 [σίου ἀξιώσαντων . . . . .]ς εἶναι τὴν ζήτησιν, Μαμερτεῖνος εἶπεν·  
 τότε ἐρεῖτε.  
 20 [παραγενομένων . . . . .] Διοφάντου Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἡρακλείου  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείου πρὸς  
 [Σαραπίωνα ? 14 letters κα]ὶ Θρακίδαν υἰὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἀπολλώνιος ρήτωρ  
 εἶπεν· ζήτη-  
 [σις ἦν Σαραπίωνι πρὸς Πτολεμά]ν περὶ τινων ἀπολειφθέντων κατὰ κληρο-  
 νομίαν. Σαρ[α]πίων  
 [μὲν γὰρ 17 letters ] ἔλεγεν χρῆσιν ἀπολελειφθαι τὰ διαταγέντα τῇ  
 Πτολ[έ]μα,  
 [ἡ δὲ Πτολέμα ἀντέλεγεν οὐ χρῆ]σιν ἀλλὰ κτῆσιν ἀπολελειφθαι. εἰδὼς  
 οὖν ὅτι πε[ρι]οῦσα  
 25 [μὲν 21 letters ]ει, ἐὰν δὲ τελευτήσῃ, πάντα [ἑαυτοῦ ἔσται . . .  
 . . . . .

## Col. ii.

- αὐτὴν συ . [ . . . ]χειλ[  
 συμπλεκεῖς αὐτῇ ἐν μ[ ? πολ-  
 λῶν δὲ ἀλλοτριῶν [  
 τε ἄγχων ἀποπνιξα[  
 30 ἔγκλημα ἀπέθετο κ[  
 σα δὲ τῷ ἐγκλήματι [  
 νόστον ἐσόμενον [  
 ? ὑπη-

	ρέτην καὶ ἰατρὸν ἐπι	
	ἔφασαν ἐγνωκέναι	δ-
35	μολογοῦμεν ὅτι πλ[	ἀγ-
	χων ἀπέπνιξε καὶ [	ἀπε-
	κρέινατο· εἰ μὲν ἐπε[	
	κεν ἂν [[αγ]] καθ' ἑαυτο[	ἀπαλ-
	λαγήναι τοῦ βίου ἐπη[	
40	τε εἰπεῖν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐ[	
	ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἐγκλήματι	κα-
	τηγορεῖται, ἄπερ καὶ [	
	Σαραπίωνι οἱ ἀντι[εταγμένοι?	δεῖ-
	ξαι μὲν οὐ δυνάμενοι	ἐγ-
45	καλέσειαν φόνου ὡς [	Πτολέ-
	μας ἀποθανούσης [	ξ-
	πει δὲ ἔλεγον ἀνηρῆ[σθαι	? ἄλλο-
	τρίων καὶ ὑπηρέτου	πα-
	ραστήσουσιν τινα[	
50	ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡ[μ]ετέρου [	

1. ἐδήλωσεν: sc. ἡ μήτηρ; cf. l. 7, which no doubt refers to the transaction here mentioned. Something like ἐπάγουσα εἰς τὴν τῶν -ω]ν (? Ἀλεξανδρέω]ν) πολ. may have preceded.

3. ἀγωγὴν ἔχειν: cf. e.g. 1408. 3 ἔχειν με πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀγ., P. S. I. 288. 12 ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀγ. μὴ ἔχειν. 'Legal claim' is more or less the meaning.

5. Ἡράκλειτος would suit the space.

7. Cf. l. 1, n. In the initial supplement it is presupposed that the end of the speech was marked by a blank space of the width of several letters, as elsewhere in this text.

10. For the supplement cf. e.g. 1102. 5.

11-12. The sentence was apparently conditional; l. 12 may be completed e.g. ὅς περὶ αὐτοῦ κριν]εῖ.

14. Perhaps [κυρίου . . . rather than [βιβλιδίων.

15. Cf. B. G. U. 611. i. 6-7 (M. 370) legis Laetoriae [ . . . α]μχιλίω.

16. Something like ὡς δέον εἰς τὸ βῆμα παρῆναι may have stood in the lacuna.

16-17. τῶν νομίμων ἐτῶν: i.e. 25.

18. The reply of Mamertinus to the τελῶναι in l. 18 indicates that what he said here implied postponement. Two very slight vestiges before εἰ suggest that the preceding letter was ξ.

25. E.g. τὰ διαταγέντα καταναλώσει. The bottom of the column, including many of the letters of this line, was cut away in preparation for the accounts on the verso, but the gap between ll. 25 and 26 does not seem to have been considerable and possibly they were even consecutive.

32-3. Presumably a reference to an inspection of the corpse by a public physician, as e.g. in 51; the ὑπηρέτης would be an assistant of the strategus (cf. 51. 7 and l. 48 below).

36. A different speaker begins in this line; cf. e.g. B. G. U. 592. i. 2-3 Διόσκορος ῥήτωρ [ἀπ]εκρέινατο. How much of what precedes belongs to the opening speech of Apollonius is not clear. Lines 34-6 ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι . . . ἀπέπνιξε are appropriate to Sarapion's advocate, and perhaps . . . ῥήτωρ εἶπεν immediately preceded that sentence. Ἀπολλώνιος should then be supplied before ἀπέκρέινατο.

47-8. Cf. ll. 28 and 32.

50. τοῦ ἡ[μ]ετέρου = 'my client', as e.g. in B. G. U. 592. i. 5, P. Strassb. 41. 17.

## 2112. LIST OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS.

Fr. 2 8.3 × 12.8 cm.

Late second century.

Part of a summary list of cases which had come before the assize (διαλογισμός, *conventus*) of the praefect or his delegate, and of the decisions which had been given about them. A heading states that the list was made for executive purposes, and it is significant that πράξις is or may be involved in each case, but though definite amounts of money or corn are given, the names of the persons from whom payment was to be exacted are not. The numbered toparchy in l. 18 points to the Arsinoïte nome (cf. e.g. P. Fay. 85. 5, Tebt. 368. 2).

Two fragments are preserved which do not join, and it is not certain, though likely enough, that they come from the same column. A doubt arises concerning the length of the lines. The two longest are ll. 13 and 15, and in the latter the word πράσεως is followed by approximately 1 cm. of blank papyrus; moreover at the end of l. 8 a comparatively short supplement is indicated by the sense. In the transcript below it has therefore been assumed that ll. 13 and 15 (and consequently ll. 18-20) are complete, but since the scribe has a tendency to leave blank spaces between words, that at the end of l. 15 may be deceptive. On the verso are remains of a much obliterated account.

Fr. 1.

[ . . . . . ]ν κεχωρισμένοις καὶ α[  
[ . . . . . ]μ . . . ιον καταχωρ[ί]σαι [ . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ]ς ε[ξ]δη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διαλογισμοῦ [ . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ]α( ) εἰς τὸ ἀκόλουθ(ον) τοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστου γενέσθαι.  
ἔστι δέ·  
5  
4 [πε]ρὶ ὑπαρχ(όντων) τινῶν ἀποτι. ( . . . ) κληρον[ . . . ] ὑποκει-

[μέν]ων δανισταῖς ὑπὸ (δραχμαῖς) ιβ (τετρώβ.) (ήμιωβ.) υ[. . . . .  
 [πραχ]θήτωι, παρατιθεμένου τοῦ δαν[ιστοῦ τὸ  
 . . [.] . ιων δίκαιον.  
 10 [περὶ τινων . . . . .]των ἀπὸ ἐπικεφαλῆου

Fr. 2.

περὶ . . [ . . . ]σεω[.] προσ[ . . . ] ὑπο[ . . . . .  
 εἰ[.]σπ[ρ]αξις π[ρ]οκηρυχθήτωι καὶ δηλωθήτωι  
 περὶ τινων ἐκκειμένων ἀποτι . ( ) ὑπαρχόντων [  
 ὑπὸ (δραχμ.) Βσιζ (ὄβολ.) (χαλκ.) β. πραχθήτωσαν.  
 15 περὶ οἴνου καὶ φοι(νίκων) λοι{π}πογρα(φουμένων) ἄχρι πράσεως  
 [ . . ] ὑπὸ πυροῦ (ἀρταβ.) ρλδδ'.  
 πραχθήτω.  
 β τοπ(αρχίας)· περὶ τινων κατηγορηθ(έντων) ἐπικρατεῖν  
 ὑπαρχόντων Δόνγου καὶ παραχειρογρα(φισάντων)  
 20 [ . . . ] . [ . . . ]να[ . . . . . ] . [ . ]αν οἱ ἐνε . [ . ]σ

14. σ of *πραχθητωσαν* converted from ι. 15. The scribe made a curved stroke after λοι as if to abbreviate *λοιπ(ογρ.)* and then added the additional letters without deleting the superfluous stroke.

2. ? ἐπι[μ]ηνίου, e. g., is a possible reading.

3. Probably ]*as* or ]*ws*. ὅπ]ως εἰδῆ suggests itself, but seems awkward in this position. *καταχωρ[ί]σαι* in the preceding line is followed by a considerable blank space.

4. ]*a*( ): the slight remains rather resemble the *a* in *λοιπογρα(φουμένων)*, l. 15.

6. The mark at the beginning of the line is like the sign commonly indicating deduction.

ἀποτι . ( ): cf. l. 13, where the τ (not λ) is clear. ι is followed in both places by a curved stroke which should represent π (so l. 18 *τοπ(αρχίας)*) but this gives no word. Two (?) letters before *κληροῖ* are covered by a blot possibly intended to delete them.

19. A village *Σκυταλίτις Δόνγου* is mentioned in 1448. 12, but Δόνγου here may be a personal name.

## 2113. LETTER OF A STRATEGUS.

24.9 X 11.8 cm.

A.D. 316.

This and the next papyrus are somewhat similar letters from a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to Aur. Heras, praepositus of the eighth pagus (cf. 1425, 2124). In the present text the praepositus is informed of an order emanating from the praeses of Aegyptus Herculia for a levy on land in order to pay for transport from Alexandria to Byzantium and Heracleia, and is instructed to proceed with the collection without delay. A lacuna in ll. 8-11 renders some of the details uncertain.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων στρα(τηγὸς) Ὁξ(υρρυχίτου)  
 δι(ὰ) Εὐλογίου διαδόχου  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾷ πραιπ(οσίτῳ) ἡ [πάγ]ου τῷ φιλ-  
 τάτῳ χαίρει[ι]ν  
 5 ὁ κύριός μου ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἡρκουλ(λ)ίας  
 Αἰγύπτου Αὐρήλιος Ἀντώνιος δι' ὧν εἰς  
 καινὸν ἡμεῖν ἐπέσταλκεν γραμμάτων  
 ἐκέλευσεν εὑθ[ύς . . . ] . ζ εἰσενεχθῆ-  
 ναι ὑπὸ τῶν ? γεωργού]των εἰς λό-  
 10 [γο]ν ναύλο[υ τοῦ προχ]ωροῦντος  
 εἰς μετάθ[εσιν . . ]ματικῶν  
 εἰδῶν τῶν πε[μ]φθησο]μένων ἀπὸ  
 τῆς Ἀλεξανδρ[είας ἐπ]ὶ τὸ Βυζάν-  
 τιον καὶ Ἡράκλειαν ὑπ[ε]ρ ἐκάστης ἀρού-  
 15 ρης σπορίμη[ς] . [ . ] . [οἴ]ας δήποτε οὕ[ν]  
 ποιότητος ἔτι τε καὶ ἀμ[μ]πέλου ἀρούρης  
 μιᾶς Ἀττικᾶς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐλαι-  
 ουδ[ῶ]ν δρυὸς ἐνὸς Ἀττικᾶς δύο καὶ τῆς  
 κορταίας Ἀττικᾶς ἑκατόν. σπούδασον  
 20 τοῖνυν, φίλτατε, κατὰ τὰ κεκελευσμέ-  
 να [ὑ]πὸ τοῦ μεγαλίου αὐτοῦ τὰ συν-  
 αγόμενα χρήματα ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ  
 λόγου ἀπαιτῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ  
 τέλους, πρὸς τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν

25 γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο. (2nd hand) ἐρρῶσθαί  
σε εὐχομαι, φίλτατε.

3rd (?) hand μετὰ τὴν (1st hand) ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Δικινίου Σεβαστῶν

τὸ δ,

30 Τῦβι .

3rd hand [Ἀυρήλιος . . . . . ὑπ(ηρέτης) στρα(τηγοῦ) ἐπήν]εγκα τῇ αὐτῇ  
ἡμέρᾳ.

2. Second ο of εὐλογίου corr. from ω. 7. γραμματῶ. 17-19. αἴτικας. 1. ελαιω[δ]ῶν.  
19. 1. χορτ. 27. μετα την added above the line.

'Aurelius Apollonius also called Eudaemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, through his deputy Eulogius, to his dearest Aurelius Heras, praepositus of the eighth pagus, greeting. My lord the governor of Aegyptus Herculia, Aurelius Antonius, in the letters which he has lately sent me ordered . . . a contribution to be made by cultivators on account of the freight charge for transport of the . . . goods which are to be sent from Alexandria to Byzantium and Heracleia, namely for every arura under seed of whatever kind and also for an arura of vine-land 50 Attic drachmae, and for an oil-bearing tree 2 Attic dr., and for pasture-land 100 Attic dr. Be then zealous, dearest friend, to collect in accordance with the orders of his highness the total sum on this account before the end of the time, so that no blame may be incurred with regard to this district. I pray for your health, dearest friend. The year after the 4th consulship of our lords Constantine and Licinius, Augusti, Tubi . . . Delivered by me, . . . , assistant of the strategus, on the same day.'

2. Cf. 2114. 2, where a different διάδοχος occurs about half a year later.

5-6. That Oxyrhynchus was included in Aegyptus Herculia was already established by 896. ii, where the same praeses, Aur. Antonius, occurs in the same year. The bearing of this on the geographical position of the province was pointed out in the note *ad loc.*, and the view that Herculia corresponded roughly with the Heptanomia is now generally accepted (cf. Collinet-Jouguet, *Archiv*, iii, p. 344, Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 72, Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung Aeg.* pp. 3-4). It is curious to find the older name used in 2114. 5, a document written actually in the same office as 2113 a few months later; cf. P. Strassb. 42. 2, 21, where a κρησίτωρ Ἐπτανομίας is mentioned in A.D. 310. Apparently for certain purposes the earlier administrative division was not at once superseded.

7. ἐπέσταλκεν is very uncertain; a somewhat shorter supplement would be suitable.

8. εὐθ[ύς]: the θ is only moderately satisfactory, and the second letter may well be κ. A reference to a time limit is rather expected here; cf. ll. 24-5 and e.g. 2108. 6-9. εὐς [cannot be read.

10. Cf. P. Leizp. 64. 10 τὰ λόγφ ναύλων θαλασσιῶν δηληγατευθέντα, Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung Aeg.* pp. 37-8.

11. θ of μετάθεσις is doubtful, but μεταγ[ωγή], μετακ[ομιδή], and μεταφ[ορά] are excluded. As for the following word, διερα[ματικῶν] (cf. 1197. 11, n., P. Thead. 26. 14 τὰ ναῦλα τῶν δι(ε)ρ(α)μάτων) would hardly be too long for the space, but that adjective has not yet occurred and there are other possibilities.

14. Ἐράκλειαν: if, as seems likely, Perinthus is here meant, the change of name

occurred quite at the beginning of the fourth century. Heracleia Pontica was no longer of importance.

15. Possibly κ[α]ι [οἰ]ας, but the vestiges are too slight for recognition.

17. Ἀττικός: sc. δραχμάς no doubt, in contradistinction to the Ἰταλικὸν δηνάριον which had lately become the official unit. The designation Ἀττικάί, which, if somewhat pedantic, is correct enough, seems to have no parallel in the papyri; the contrasted coinage is described as Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα, Ἰταλικὸν ἀργύριον in the fourth-century letter cited by P. Meyer, *Iur. Pap.* p. 251—a reference which I owe to Mr. J. G. Milne. For the use of Ἀττικάί Mr. Bell adds Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 10 (Migne viii. 536) σῶμα αὐταῖς εἰ πιπράσκειτο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε χιλίας εὐροὶ Ἀττικός.

18. δρυός: a good instance of the use of the word for tree in general; cf. e.g. Hesych. δρυός: πᾶν ξύλον καὶ δένδρον. δρυός has been taken to mean olive in Soph. *Trach.* 766, Eurip. *Cycl.* 615.

25. μέρος: 'district' perhaps rather than 'quota'.

31. Cf. 2114. 20: but the hand there is different.

## 2114. LETTER OF A STRATEGUS.

24.4 × 11.9 cm.

A.D. 316.

Another interesting letter to Aurelius Heras (cf. 2113) from the strategus, instructing him to collect wine or its equivalent in money for the *annonia militaris*, in accordance with orders issued by a procurator of the Heptanomia. The survival of this term in official use side by side with Aegyptus Herculia is noteworthy; cf. n. on 2113. 5-6.

Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων στρα(τηγός) Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου) δι(ὰ)  
Πλου[. . . .] διαδόχου

Ἀυρηλίῳ Ἡρᾶ πραιπ(οσίτῳ) ἡ πάγου τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.  
δι' ὧν ἔγραψεν ἡ ἐμμέλια τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπιτρό-  
5 που τῆς Ἐπτανομίας Ἀυρηλίου Γρηγορίου ἐκέ-  
λευσεν τοῦ δηληγατευθέντος οἴνου τῆς Θη-  
βαΐδος ἐν τῇ εἰνδικτίονι τὴν ἰμίσιαν  
ἀποσταλῆναι ἐν παλαιῷ ἢ τιμήματος ἐκά-  
στου ξέστου ἐκ (θηναρίων) ξε, ἀπαντησάντων  
10 εἰς τοῦτο ὅπιν{ν} ατόρων ἐρεθέντος τε καὶ  
ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπιμελητοῦ. φρόντισον τοί-  
νυν δεξάμενος τόδε τὸ ἐπίσταλμα τὸν  
ἐπιβάλλον[τ]α ξεστισμὸν τῷ ὑπὸ σὲ πάγῳ  
παραδοῦναι τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ, πρὸς τὸ μηδε-

15 μίαν ἐνδέραν περὶ τὰς στρατιωτικὰς τρο-  
φὰς γενέσθαι. (2nd hand) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι,  
φίλτατε.

1st hand [ὑπατίας Καικί]νιου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου 'Ρουφίνου  
[ τῶν λαμ]προτάτων, Μεσορῆ ιζ.

3rd hand 20 [Ἀύρηλιος Διδύσκορος ὑπ(ηρέτης) [στ]ρα(τηγοῦ) ἐπήνευκα  
[ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡ]μέρᾳ.

7. ἡμισίαν: 1. ἡμ. 10. 1. αἶρεθ. 15. 1. ἐνδραν.

'Aurelius Apollonius also called Eudaemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, through his deputy Plu . . ., to his dearest Aurelius Heras, praepositus of the eighth pagus, greeting. In the letter written by his grace my lord the procurator of the Heptanomia, Aurelius Gregorius, he ordered half the prescribed wine from the Thebaid to be delivered in the fifth indiction in old produce or else at a valuation of 65 denarii for each sextarius, collectors having arrived for this purpose and an overseer having been chosen from the senate. Accordingly on receipt of this missive take care to deliver to the overseer the quota of sextarii falling to the pagus under you, in order that no fraud may occur with regard to the soldiers' victuals. I pray for your health, dearest friend. The consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufus the most illustrious, Mesore 17. Delivered by me, Aurelius Dioscorus, assistant of the strategus, on the same day.'

6. δηληγατευθέντος: cf. P. Leipz. 64. 3. 10, 1660. int., Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung Aeg.* pp. 39-41.

10. ὀπινατόρων: apparently the first occurrence in papyri, or indeed in Greek, of this word, for which cf. Cod. Iust. xii. 37. 11 *opinatoribus, id est exactoribus militaris annonae.*

13. Neither *ξεστισμός* nor *ξεστιζω* (in this sense) seems to be otherwise attested.

15. ενδεραν is more probably a slip for ἐνδραν than ἐνδειαν, which clearly cannot be read.

20. Cf. e.g. 59. 22, where ὑπ(ηρέτης) βουλ(ευτικός) has rightly been proposed by Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 352, and 60. 14, where from a hand-facsimile kindly sent by Professor Smyly I now read Γερώντις (or Γερώντιος) ὑπ(ηρέτης) στ(ρατηγοῦ).

## 2115. LETTER OF A LOGISTES.

13 × 10.6 cm.

Fourth century.

The interest of this letter, of which only the first few lines are preserved, lies chiefly in the fact that it is addressed to an official bearing the novel title of *λογογράφος κονδουκτορίου*, accountant to the board of contractors, these perhaps including others than the contractors of the express postal service, who are specified in ll. 6-7; cf. n. on 2110. 4, and for *κονδουκτόριον* P. Cornell 52. 10.

Φλαύιος Εὐλ[ό]γιος λογιστῆς  
'Οξυρυγχίτου

λογογράφῳ κονδουκτορίου  
τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν.

5 ἐπιδὴ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάλαματι  
τῶν κονδουκτόρων τοῦ ὀξέου  
δρόμου ἐνκίται καὶ ἡ ἐπονυ-  
μία τοῦ υἱοῦ Ζεφυρίου Παιανίου  
ὑπὲρ ἡμίσιους στάβλου καὶ διε-  
10 [. . . . .] . υἱὸν φ . . . . .

6. 1. ὀξέος. 7. 1. ἐπονυμία.

'Flavius Eulogius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the accountant of the contractors of the said city, greeting. Whereas the report of the contractors of the express post includes a mention of the son of Zephyrius son of Paeanius in respect of half a stable . . .'

1. Φλ. Εὐλ[ό]γιος: possibly identical with the person of that name who occurs in 897. 3 as *riparius* in A. D. 346. 2115 is probably subsequent to that date.

3. λογογράφῳ: cf. 53. 5, P. S. I. 44. 3, P. Amh. 82. 7 *λογογραφία*. The term is commoner in the late Byzantine period.

## 2116. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT OF ACCOUNTS.

22.2 × 12 cm.

A. D. 229.

Acknowledgement by an official who, if his title has been rightly read, was in charge of the praefect's boats, of the receipt of six copies of accounts relating to the alum-monopoly, for delivery to various departments, of which an interesting list is given (ll. 9-11). The fact that the accounts had to be made up every five days (l. 7) and were subjected to so much scrutiny shows the care with which such monopolies were regulated. For the alum-monopoly, which is not often met with, cf. 1420. int.

[Ἀύρηλ]ιος Δομίτιος ἐπιτηρητῆς ἡγεμονικῶ[ν]  
] πλο[ί]ων καὶ ἄλλων Ἀύρηλίοις Σαραπίωνι  
[τῷ κα]ὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῶι καὶ Διογένει Σαραπίων[ο]ς  
[καὶ Πτο]λεμαίῳ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς τρισὶ ἄρξασι τῆς  
5 [Ὀξυ]ρυγγειῶν πόλεως ἐπιτηρηταῖς στυπτη-  
[ρί]ας τοῖς φιλτάτοις χαίρειν.  
[ὄς] ἐπέμψατε πενθημέρους λόγους τῆς στυπτη-



- [ρία]ς ἀπὸ α ἕως ε τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεσ-  
 [τῶ]τος ἔτους ς, ὥστε εἰς διοίκησιν β, εἰς τὸ  
 10 [Ῥω]μαϊκὸν ταβουλάριον α, ἐπιτρόφῳ νομοῦ α,  
 [εἰς τ]ὸ λογιστήριον αὐτοῦ α, οἰκονόμοις α,  
 [κ]ομισάμενος τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς ἀ-  
 [πέδω]κα. ἐρρῶσθ[α]ί ὑμᾶς εὐχο(μαι), φίλ(τατοι). διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου)  
 [ Ἀ]χιλλέως τοῦ καὶ Νεμεσιῶνος γραμματέως).
- 15 (ἔτους ?) θ Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σαρος Μάρκου  
 [Αὐρηλίου] Σεουήρου Ἀ[λεξάνδρου] Εὐσεβοῦς  
 [Εὐτυχοῦ]ς [Σ]εβ[ασ]τοῦ

'Aurelius Domitius, superintendent of the praefect's boats (?), &c., to his dear friends the Aurelii Sarapion also called Apollonianus, Diogenes son of Sarapion, and Ptolemaeus son of Ptolemaeus, all three ex-magistrates of the city of Oxyrhynchus, superintendents of the alum-monopoly, greeting. The 6 five-day accounts of the alum-monopoly, from the 1st to the 5th of the month Thoth of the present year, which you have sent, 2 for the department of the dioecetes, 1 for the Roman (?) archives, 1 for the procurator of the nome, 1 for his bureau, 1 for the oeconomi, were received by me on the 20th of the month and forwarded. I pray for your health, dear friends. Through Aurelius Achilles also called Nemesion, secretary.' Date.

1-2. ἐπιτηρητής . . . πλο[ι]ῶν: the last word of this apparently novel title, though well suited to the context, is very doubtfully read. The remains of the first two letters are exiguous, and the third might be the top of a ρ. There would also be room for another letter before the supposed π; the slight indentation is, however, quite unobjectionable (cf. l. 14). ἄλλων might include other means of transport in the service of the praefect, such as horses or camels.

2-3. Σαραπίωνι . . . Ἀπολλωνιῶνι: probably identical with the addressee of 2137. Whether the homonymous ex-gymnasiarch of 2135. 1, 11 was the same person is, owing to the difference in date, more doubtful.

5. ἐπιτηρητῆς στυπτηρίας occur also in B. G. U. 697. 6 (W. 321); a μισθωτῆς ἀσχολήματος στυπτηρίας figures in 1429.

10. [Ῥω]μαϊκὸν ταβουλάριον: the adjective is highly dubious, the μ being represented by no more than a scanty vestige consistent with various other letters; but that a vowel preceded ι is implied by the diaeresis, and a satisfactory alternative to [Ῥω]μαϊκόν, which is in some measure commended by the Latin word *tabularium*, is not readily found: [Θη]βαϊκόν is hardly likely. *tabularium* appears to be new in the papyri, though *tabularii* occur (cf. 1114. 35, 1511. 10) and ταβουλάριοι are not infrequent (P. Strassb. 5. 15 and n.).

In the absence of analogy νομοῦ at the end of the line is another very doubtful reading, the letters being obscured by the scaling of the ink; the first might well be π.

11. οἰκονόμοις: the position of these functionaries is not clear; in the Roman period official οἰκονόμοι were commonly associated with imperial οὐσίαι; cf. P. Hamb. 8. 2, n.

## 2117. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT OF A REPORT.

16.7 x 8.2 cm.

A. D. 203.

The loss of the first few lines does not seriously affect the following papyrus, which was issued evidently by the keepers of the record office of Hermopolis (cf. ll. 14-15) to a person specially appointed from outside (ll. 2-3, n.) to conduct a census of live-stock in the nome, acknowledging the receipt of the document in which the results of his investigation were embodied; cf. 2116. This official census of animals, to which 2118 also relates, was of course designed to test the accuracy of the returns annually made by owners.

- [. . . . .] . [ . . . . . ]  
 [Ὀξυ]ρρυχειτῶν [πόλ(εως) προ]χιρισθέν-  
 [τι] ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου . . . ] . [ . . .  
 τοῦ [κρα(τίστου)] ἐπιστρατήγῳ  
 5 ἐξ[αρίθ]μησιν θρεμμά-  
 τω[ν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο[μοῦ]  
 ποιήσασθαι τῷ [ . . .  
 φιλάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 κατεχώρισας ἡμῖν τῆς  
 10 γεναμένης ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 ἐξαριθμήσεως θρεμμά-  
 των τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ια (ἔτους)  
 τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ βιβλίον  
 ἐν (2nd hand) βιβλ(ιοθήκη) δημοσίων λόγ(ων)  
 15 Ἐρροπ(ολίτου) δι(ὰ) Ἀχιλλέως βοη(θοῦ). ἐρρῶσθαί σε  
 εὐχόμεθα, φίλτατε.  
 1st hand (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορων  
 Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακ(ος)  
 20 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ  
 [Παρθικοῦ Μεγίσ]του καὶ  
 [Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου] Ἀντωνίου

[Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβ]αστῶν [[καὶ]  
 [[Πουβλίου Σεπτιμί]ου Γέτα]]  
 25 [[Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ]] Μεχείρ?

‘[. . ., keepers of the public records of the Hermopolite nome,] to their dear friend . . ., of the city of Oxyrhynchus, appointed by his excellency Claudius . . ., epistrategus, to make an enumeration of animals in the said nome, greeting. You have deposited with us a schedule of the enumeration made by you of animals for the present 11th year in this nome at the library of public records of the Hermopolite nome, through Achilles, assistant. We pray for your health, dear friend.’ Date.

1. The first few lines are to be restored approximately οἱ δέωνες βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίων λόγων Ἐρμοπολίτου τῷ δέειν ἀπὸ (or a title) τῆς Ὀξύρυνχειτῶν κτλ.

2-3. Cf. 2118. 5-6 and P. Brit. Mus. 376. 5-7 (ii, p. 77) τοῦ συνηθοῦς προχειρισμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου ἀπὸ ἀλλ[ο]υ νομοῦ, which passages explain why the recipient of the present receipt hails from Oxyrhynchus. προχ(ε)ρισθέντι looks highly probable but rather overcrowds the lacuna at the end of l. 2; there is not, however, room at the beginning of l. 3 for προχειρισθ(έντι).

4. This epistrategus is apparently unknown. The unread letter in the second name had a long straight tail, ρ, φ, or ψ, so that Ἀλεξάνδρφ (P. Flor. 278. iv. 22, *Archiv*, vi, p. 217, A.D. 203) is unsuitable.

25. Μεχείρ?: cf. 2118. 7, P. Brit. Mus. 376. 13, 304. 20, n. (ii, p. 73).

#### 2118. REPORT ON A CENSUS OF LIVE-STOCK.

9 × 11.4 cm.

About A.D. 156.

An unaddressed and undated report, evidently only a draft, from a man appointed to assist in a census of live-stock in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Since his colleagues were the basilicogrammateus and the external nominee of the epistrategus (cf. 2117), he himself was no doubt the nominee of the strategus (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 376. 2-3 (ii, p. 77)), for whom this report was intended. The date is fixed by the fact that the epistrategus concerned was Statilius Maximus, who is known from 487. 1 to have been in office in Dec., A.D. 156.

Παρὰ Σπάρτακου Πausανίου μ[η]τρὸς Διδύμης  
 [ἀπ' Ὀξύρυνχων πόλεως. ἐπέστιλάς μοι τὴν ἑξα-  
 [ρίθ]μωσιν τῶν ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τοπαρχίᾳ θρεμμάτων  
 [νο]μοῦ ποιήσασθαι σὺν τῷ βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ  
 5 [καὶ τῷ] ἐξ ἀλλ[ο]υ νομοῦ προχειρισθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 [κρα]τίστο[υ] ἐπιστρατήγου Στατιλίου Μαξίμου.

Μεχ[είρ] . . .  
 [γενό]μενο[ς] οὖν] ἐπ[ὶ τῶ]ν τόπων σὺν βοηθῶσι  
 τῶν [ ]  
 ἡμ[ῶ]ν οὔτε εὐρον οὔτε παρηρέχθη πρὸς ἑξα[ρ]τί-  
 θμ[ησ]ιν θρέμματα.

5. ὕπο.

‘From Spartacus son of Pausanias and Didyme, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. You sent me instructions to make the enumeration of the animals of the nome in the middle toparchy together with the basilicogrammateus and the person appointed from another nome by his excellency the epistrategus, Statilius Maximus. Having therefore proceeded to the locality on Mecheir . . . with our assistants, I neither found any animals nor were any presented for enumeration.’

1. Σπάρτακου is clear, so that, unless there has been a mistake, this person is not to be identified with Spartas son of Pausanias and Didyme in 2134.

4-6. Cf. 2117. 2-3, n. The βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς assists also in P. Brit. Mus. *cit.* 10.

8. τῶν is doubtful owing to the detachment of the upper fibres of the papyrus and the uncertainty of their arrangement; τριῶν is less suitable. But the first letter may be π.

#### 2119. REPORT OF SITOLOGI.

14 × 12.7 cm.

A.D. 219.

A return made to the strategus of the Hermopolite nome from the sitologi of a local granary announcing the receipt of a small quantity of wheat. A similar document is P. Flor. 317, from which Vitelli inferred that such returns were rendered daily. From P. Giessen 63. 3, however, it appears that the sitologi sent in reports covering periods of five days, and without more explicit evidence it is perhaps preferable to suppose that 2119 and P. Flor. 317 really belong to that category, rather than to assume such a multiplication of reports, especially in view of the reference in l. 8 below to the monthly return, with no mention of any shorter period.

Ἀύρηλιῷ Σαραπίωνι τῷ [καὶ] Ἀπολλωνιανῷ  
 στρα(τηγῷ) Ἐρμοπολ(ίτου)  
 παρὰ σιτολόγων δημοσίου θησαύρου Ἄρεως μερίδος  
 Ποαμπιμήνεως τόπου Πατρῆ ἄνω. ἐμετρήθησ(αν)  
 5 ἡμεῖν εἰς τὸν προκείμενον θησαυρὸν ἀπὸ γενη(μάτων)  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου Ἄντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος] τοῦ κυρίου πυροῦ δοχικῷ ἀρτάβ(ας) τέσσαρας,

P

/ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) δ, αἱ ἀναφερόμεναι διὰ μηνιαίου [τ]οῦ  
 Ἐπειφ καὶ διαστελλόμεναι ὑπὲρ πρακτορείας  
 10 [...] . . . . α . . . . (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
 [Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπειφ?] ιβ. . . . . [ . . . . . ]

7. 1. ἀρτάβ(αι) τέσσαρες: cf. P. Flor. 317. 10, &c.

'To Aurelius Sarapion also called Apollonianus, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, from the sitologi of the public granary of the village Areos in the district of Poampimenis in the toparchy of upper Patre. There have been measured to us at the above granary from the produce of the present 2nd year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord four artabae of wheat by the receiving measure, total 4 art. of wheat, which are being recorded in the monthly report for Epeiph and paid on account of the collecting area of . . . Date.

1-2. Cf. 2120. 3, which shows this strategus still in office towards the end of 221, and 2138. 1. There can be little doubt that [Sara]pion also called Apollonius who was basilico-grammateus and acting strategus between 212 and 217 according to P. Brit. Mus. 934 (iii, p. xlvi), was in fact identical, but Mr. Bell still considers Ἀπολλωνίω to be the right reading although Σαραπίωνι was probably preceded by some other name, i. e. Ἀύρηλιω. Ἀπολλωνι(αν)ῶ should accordingly be written there, and the date of the papyrus is likely to be nearer 217 than 212.

3-4. For the village 'of Ares' cf. e.g. B. G. U. 552. A. ii. 6, and for Poampimenis, P. Ryl. 204. 7. The inference drawn in the n. *ad loc.* that the latter was in Πατρή ἄνω is now confirmed. It must have been a considerable place, as a μερίς was named from it. That the Hermopolite toparchies, like those of the Oxyrhynchite nome (e.g. 287. 4), were divided into μερίδες seems not to have been previously stated; these are to be distinguished from the minor numbered μερίδες which occur in e.g. P. Strassb. 23.

9-10. For διαστελλόμεναι cf. e.g. B. G. U. 552. A. i. 10 αἱ καὶ διασταλεῖσαι ὡς ὑπόκειται. A local name presumably followed πρακτορείας, as in P. Flor. 330. 10<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὑπὲρ πρακ(τορίας) Ἰβιῶνος κτλ.; cf. P. Giessen 63. 7, where πρακ(τορίας) not πράκ(τορσι) should be read.

12. The signature of one of the sitologi may well have followed the date; cf. P. Flor. 317. 12.

## 2120. DECLARATION ON OATH.

13 × 22.7 cm.

A. D. 221.

Affidavit addressed to the strategus of the Hermopolite nome by a citizen of Alexandria who was a land-owner at an Oxyrhynchite village and was assisting in the collection of the corn-dues, that he would continuously and faithfully discharge his duties; cf. e.g. 81, 1106. It is noticeable that though

<sup>1</sup> In ll. 6 and 8 of that text τῆς and [τῆς] probably stood before πρακ(τορίας).

holding a subordinate position in the department of the strategus, this Alexandrian citizen places his own name first.

Ἀύρηλι[ι]ος Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ Μέλας . . . . . [ . ] [ . ] καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω,  
 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς

[γ]εουχῶν ἐν [Ὀξυρυ]γχείτη νομοῦ ἐν κόμῃ Σέσφθα,

Ἀ[ύ]ρηλιω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλ[ων]ιανῷ στρα(τηγῷ) Ἐρμπολιεῖτου  
 χαίρειν.

ἐπεὶ ἐβοήθησα πράξας τὸ σ[ι]τικὸν το[ῦ] νομοῦ τ[ι]οῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ ὑπὸ  
 Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν

5 ἡγούμεν[ό]ν σου, ὁμν[ύ]ω τῆ[ν] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου

Ἀύρηλιου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Καίσαρος

Σεβαστῶν τύχην παραμεῖναι σοὶ καὶ μὴ ἀποστήναι τῆς Ἐρμού πόλεως  
 ἔστ' ἂν πᾶσάν

μου τὴν πρᾶξιν παραστήσω σοὶ ὑγιῶς καὶ μετὰ πάσης πίστεως διαπραξά-  
 μενος, ἢ ἔνο-

χος εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. Ἀύρηλιος Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ Μέλας ὁ προγεγραμμένος τὸ  
 σῶμα ιδιόγραφον

10 ἔγραψα καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν ὄρκον. (ἔτους) ε [Ἀυτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Ἀύρηλιου

Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ [Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου Ἀλε]ξάνδ[ρο]ν  
 Καίσαρος Σεβ[αστῶ]ν,

Χοίακ κθ.

2. 1. νομῷ.

'Aurelius Hierax also called Melas, . . . and however I am styled, Alexandrian owning land in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the village of Sesphta, to Aurelius Sarapion also called Apollonianus, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, greeting. Whereas I have acted as assistant in the collection of corn-revenues of the nome under you to Apollonius your chief officer, I swear by the fortune of our lords the Emperors Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix and Marcus Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augusti that I will stay with you and not absent myself from Hermopolis until I have fully discharged for you the collection, performing it honestly and with all good faith, otherwise may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. I, Aurelius Hierax also called Melas the aforesaid, wrote the body of the document with my own hand and swore the oath.' Date.

3. The same strategus is addressed in 2119. 1; cf. the n. there.

5. ἡγούμεν[ό]ν σου: cf. 204. 19, B. G. U. 830. 17 ἡγ. τοῦ βασιλικ[οῦ], &c.

## 2121. LIST OF VILLAGE OFFICIALS.

31.3 x 39 cm.

A. D. 209-10.

A list of officials for the villages of Athena and Anubias in the Arsinoïte nome, submitted by a comarch (l. 84, n.) no doubt to the strategus, whose name has disappeared with the first few lines of the document. These villages are known to have been in the division of Themistes and probably in the south of it (cf. P. Tebt. ii, pp. 365, 367); since they appear here under a joint local administration, like Cynopolis and Lysimachis in P. Ryl. 90 or Socnopaei Nesu and Nilopolis in P. Brit. Mus. 1220 (iii, p. 114), they were evidently near neighbours. Those two papyri also contain lists of village officials, and other comparable texts are 2122, P. Ryl. 89, Fay. 304, Brit. Mus. 199 (ii, p. 158), B. G. U. 6, SB. 4636. But none of these give quite so full a list as 2121, in which the functionaries named are: (1) *πρεσβύτεροι*, village elders; (2) *ἀρχέφοδος*, chief of police; (3) *φύλακες*, guards; (4) *ἐπιτρέχοντες*, inspectors (? cf. n. on l. 22); (5) *νυκτοφύλακες*, night-watchmen; (6) *εἰρηνοφύλακες*, policemen; (7) persons appointed to promote peaceful government and to see to the safety of deliveries to the public granaries; (8) overseers of irrigation, sowing, harvesting, &c. In the case of (1), (7), and (8) a property-qualification is stated, amounting to 800, 600, and 1,000 drachmae respectively. 800 drachmae are also the amount for *πρεσβύτεροι* in P. Brit. Mus. 199 (ii, p. 158), which, however, differs from 2121 in assigning to the *ἀρχέφοδος* and *εἰρηνοφύλακες* a qualification of 600 dr. In B. G. U. 6 the qualification of *πρεσβύτεροι* is only 400 or 500 dr., and none is specified, as in 2121, for the *ἀρχέφοδος*.

The list was for the current year, but was presumably presented for the approval of the strategus. Confirmation of this may be found in the fact that here and there a name has been cancelled and another substituted by a second hand; in two instances individuals have in this way been transferred from one category to another (ll. 16 and 44, 17 and 40). No reason can be suggested for the occurrence of this papyrus at Oxyrhynchus; cf. e. g. 1446.

[ στρατηγῷ Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων  
[παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ κωμάρχου κωμῶν Ἀθηνᾶς  
[καὶ Ἀνουβιάδος  
γ[ραφή] πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχεφόδων [ 5  
καὶ [τ]ᾶ[ν]των ἄλλων [δημοσίων]  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἡ (ἐτους) Δουκίου [Σ]επτιμίου

Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος  
καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου  
Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν [[κ[α]ῖ Π[ουπλί]ου]]  
10 [[Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος [Σεβαστο]ῦ.]]  
ἔστι δε.  
Ἀθηνᾶς. πρεσβύτεροι.  
Ἰβρίων ἀπ(άτωρ) μη(τρὸς) Τασῶτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ἔχω(ν)  
πόρον ἐν οἰκῶ(έδοις) [(δραχμῶν)] ω,  
15 Φᾶσεις Ἡρώνος . . ηῖ . ὡς (ἐτῶν) κη ὁμοίως) (δρ.) ω.  
ἀρχέφοδος (2nd hand) Ἀμᾶις Βιτ[τ]ᾶτος] ὡς (ἐτῶν) λη.  
1st h. [[Ἀπόλλων Φαήσεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε]]  
φύλακες.  
Ἡρων Διονυσάμμων[ο]ς ὡς (ἐτῶν ?) κε,  
20 Κάστωρ Ἰβρίωνος ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) . . . ρις ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ,  
Ἄτρης Πατᾶ ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ.  
ἐπιτρέχοντες.  
Τεσενούφης Ἡρώδου τοῦ . ηῖαιους ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε,  
Κεφάλων Ὀννώφ[ρ]ε]ως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λα.  
25 νυκτοφύλακες.  
Σηοῦς [?] Πα]ήσεως [ὡς (ἐτῶν) . . ]  
Σαραπάμμων Διονυσάμμ[ων]ο]ς [ὡς (ἐτῶν) . . ]  
[ . . ]μ[ι] . ις Ἰβρίωνος [ὡς (ἐτῶν) . . ]  
[  
30 [εἰρηνοφύλακες.  
? 2 more lines lost.

15. l. Πᾶσις (?). First two letters of . . ηῖ . corr. by 2nd hand. 17. This line enclosed in round brackets by 2nd hand; so too ll. 39, 44, 61, 65 (?).

Col. ii.

[καὶ εἰς τὸ φροντίδα ποιῆσθαι τοῦ τ]ῆν εἰρήνην  
[διάγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τ]ῷ ἔχειν  
35 [ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς τῆς προκει(μένης) κ]ᾶ[(μης)] δημοσίου  
[καὶ προνοεῖν τῆς παραφυλακῆς τ]οῦ μετρο(μένου)

[δημ]οσίου πυροῦ τε καὶ γεν[ῶν]  
 Πα[. .] Ἡρωνος τοῦ Μῶρου ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ἔχ[ω(ν)] π[ό(ρον)] (δρ. ?) χ.  
 [[Ἀλανᾶσις Ὀννά[φ]ρεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ ὁμοίως] [(δρ.) χ.]  
 2nd h. 40 Ἀπόλλων Φαήσεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ [ ] ὁ[μ(οίως)] [(δρ.) χ.  
 1st h. καὶ εἰς τὸ προ[σ]τῆναι τοῦ τε λιμνα[σ]μοῦ καὶ ἀρδ[ί]ας  
 καὶ κατασπορᾶς καὶ συνκομ[ιδῆς] καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων δημοσίων πάντων [τῆς κ]ώ[μης].  
 [[Ἀμαῖς Βιττάτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ἔχ[ω(ν)] πό(ρον) ἐν οἰκοπ(έδοις) (δρ.) Ἀ]  
 2nd h. 45 Πτολεμαῖος Παλα( ) ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ ὁμοίως (δρ.) Ἀ.  
 1st h. Ἀνουβιάδος ὁμοίως. πρεσβύτεροι.  
 Ἀνουβᾶς Βλαστοῦ ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ἔχ[ω(ν)] πό(ρον) ἐν οἰκοπ(έδοις) (δρ.) ω,  
 Διδυμίων Ὀρίωνος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ὁμοί(ως) (δρ.) ω,  
 Ἀνουβᾶς Σανσνέως ὡς (ἐτῶν) . [ ] ὁμοί(ως) (δρ.) ω,  
 50 Νείλος Χαλαβούλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) [.]η (ὁ)μοί(ως) (δρ.) ω.  
 ἀρχέφοδος. Παη[ο]ῦς Παε[ι]ε[ῦ]τος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ.  
 φύλακες.  
 Σαραπάμων ἀπ(άτωρ) Θανμ[ά]στης ὡς (ἐτῶν) κε,  
 Σαραπάμων Παεῦτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ,  
 55 Σούλις Ἡρακλᾶ ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ [ ]  
 Πολυδεύκ[η]ς ἀπ(άτωρ) Διδυμαρίου ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ (?),  
 Κολ[λο]υθ[ο]ς Ὀρίωνος ὡς (ἐτῶν) κ.  
 ἐπιτρέχοντες.  
 Ἀτρῆς Κρούρεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε,  
 2nd h. 60 Σισ[ό]ις Χαιρήμονος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ[ ]  
 1st h. [[Σανσνεὺς Ἐκύσεως ὡ[ς] (ἐτῶν) μη]]  
 νυκτοφύλακες.  
 [. . . . .] . . . . [ὡς] (ἐτῶν ?) . . . .  
 2nd h. [. . . . . ἀπ(άτωρ) Διοσκο[υ]ριάδος [ὡς] (ἐτῶν) . . . .  
 1st h. 65 [[ ] ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ[ ] ]  
 [ ] ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ[ ]  
 [ ] ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ[ ]  
 [ ] ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ.

44. αμαῖς βιττ.

54. παῖεντος.

60. 1. Χαιρήμονος.

Col. iii.

εἰρηνοφύλακες.  
 70 Κολλούθος Ἡρακλᾶ ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ,  
 Νεῶς Σαρ[απ]ίωνος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε.  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ φρον[τί]δα ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ [τ]ῆν εἰρήνην  
 διάγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν  
 ὑπ' ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς τῆς προκει(μένης) κώ[μης] δημοσίους  
 75 καὶ προνοεῖν τῆς παραφυλακῆς τοῦ μετρο(μένου)  
 δημοσίου πυροῦ τε καὶ γενῶν.  
 Νεῶς Ἡρακλᾶ ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ ἔχ[ω(ν)] πό(ρον) ἐν οἰκοπ(έδοις) (δρ.) χ,  
 Πεσοῦρις Ὀρίωνος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ὁμοί(ως) (δρ.) χ.  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ προστῆναι τοῦ τε λιμνασμοῦ κ[α]ὶ ἀρδίας  
 80 καὶ κατασπορᾶς καὶ συνκομιδῆς καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων δημοσίων πάντων τῆς κώ[μης].  
 Πεθέως Σοκονώπεως Κρούριος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε  
 ἔχων πόρον ἐν οἰκοπ(έδοις) (δρ.) Ἀ.  
 3rd h. Ἐρμῆς κα(μάρχης) ἐπιδ(έδωκα).  
 1st h. 85 (έτους) ιη Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περ[τίν]ακος  
 καὶ Μάρκου  
 Ἀύρηλιου Ἀντωνίου Εὐσεβοῦς Σ[ε]βαστῶν [[καὶ Π[ο]υπ[λ]ίου]  
 [[Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ]] . . . . .

73. γ of διαγειν corr. from κ. 74. 1. ὑφ'. 79. η of προστῆναι corr. ? 82. 1. Πεθεὺς ?

1-5. For the reconstruction cf. l. 84 and e.g. B. G. U. 6. 1 sqq. Perhaps the strategus was Theon; cf. *Archiv*, vi, p. 170. The arrangement of ll. 1-3 is of course uncertain, and there may have been four lines, not three. In l. 5 [π]ᾶ[ν]των is especially doubtful, though the remains well suit ]ων.

9-10. The name and titles of Geta, as often happens, have been heavily crossed through. Presumably the deletion began in l. 9, though this is too defective to show it; cf. ll. 86-7.

15. Φᾶσις: cf. e.g. 1446. 89. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, takes this name to be the same as Πᾶσις, but in that case it is futile to write Φᾶσις.

16. Βι[τ]ᾶτος: more probable than Κιττάτος both here and in l. 44. Neither name occurs elsewhere.

22. ἐπιτρέχοντες: cf. P. Fay. 107. 6-7 (A. D. 133) τῶι τῆς κώμης ἐπιτρέχοντι, which must now be regarded as an independent title; possibly, as Jouguet suggests (*Vie municipale*, p. 267<sup>2</sup>), it is also to be recognized in P. Brit. Mus. 179. 9 (ii, p. 155). P. Fay. 107 indi-

cates that the functions of the *ἐπιτρέχοντες* did not differ materially from those of an *ἀρχέφοδος*, and they were perhaps his assistants.

25. *νυκτοφύλακες*: cf. 2128. 14, P. Iand. 33. 8, Theb. Ost. 139. 1. The number of lines lost at the bottom of the column is uncertain, and there were perhaps 5 *νυκτοφύλακες*, as apparently at Anubias (ll. 62 sqq.). At Oxyrhynchus there were as many as 50 (2128. 14).

30. [*εἰρηνοφύλακες*]: cf. ll. 69-71. They occur in a pair also in P. Brit. Mus. 199. 8-10 (ii, p. 159), but in 2122. 5 *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* is a single functionary.

33-7. Cf. ll. 72-6. The first part of this title seems to be novel; the second may correspond to the *ἀλωνοφυλακία* (so probably to be read) of P. Ryl. 90. 2, &c.; cf. 1465. 8 *ἀλωνοφύλακα* and the Leipzig text cited by Wilcken, *Grundz.* 415, where *ἀλωνοφύλακες* occur along with an *ἀρχέφοδος* and a *ἀρχιεπιστοφύλαξ* in a list of *δημόσιοι* of Seruphis.

39. *Ἀλανᾶσις*: the second letter may be γ, but τ is unlikely.

41-3. Cf. P. Ryl. 90. 22-4 ο(ι) κ(α) π[ρ]οανα(δ)οθ[έ]ντες ἐπὶ τ[ε] λειμνασμοῦ καὶ ἀρδείας (καὶ κατασπ[ο]ράς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων) δημοσίων πάντων and n. *ad loc.*; the insertion of *καὶ* between *ἀρδείας* and *κατ[α]σποράς* is now confirmed by the present passage.

50. *Καλαβουλέως*: κ and β are probable, but these letters tend to be written so much alike as to be hardly distinguishable. The λ would have been read with no hesitation but for the supposed occurrence of *Καταβωλεύς* in B. G. U. 392. ii. 5, 639. ii. 37, P. Brit. Mus. 156. 59 (ii, p. 250). In the first of these, however, Krebs originally read *Καλαβ.*, and it may be questioned whether λ should not be substituted for τ in the other two places; cf. the similar names *Καλαβαίλις*, *Καλαβαλίς*, *Καλαβέλ*, *Καλαβέλις*. The τ is however still preferred by Bell in P. Brit. Mus. cit.

84. The signature is in a large unpractised hand. *κω(μάρχης)*, not *κω(μογραμματοεὐς)*, is expected at this date. *κωμογραμματοεὐς* are rarely heard of after the beginning of the third century, though, as shown by 1835. 4, the title was not entirely dropped. In P. Brit. Mus. 1220 (iii, p. 114) a nomination to an office is submitted by a comarch in A. D. 202-7; cf. 1425. int., 2128. 5.

## 2122. LIST OF VILLAGE OFFICIALS.

12.1 × 12.9 cm.

Late second or early third century.

Fragment of a list of nine minor officials, similar in character to 2121; cf. int. there. The *ἀρχέφοδος* and *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* precede the *πρεσβύτεροι*, which is unusual. One of the names under the latter heading has been crossed through and another substituted by a second hand (cf. 2121), to which may also well be due the short oblique dashes which have commonly been placed against individual names.

[. . . . . ο]ν μη[τ(ρὸς)]  
/ . !η[. . .] . ος Χινε[  
ἀρχέφοδος

, Μεγχῆς Πεκύσι[ο]ς μη[τ(ρὸς)]  
5 ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήν[η]ς.  
] Μέλας Φίβιος μητ(ρὸς) Θαίβι[ο]ς  
πρεσβύτερο[ι].  
2nd h. , Ωρος Χινε . [ . . . ]  
1st h. ] [[Πασαίβις Χ[. . .]τος]] [  
10 ] Ἀγο[υ]β[?] [ς] . [ . ] ελυ . [ . ] ος [  
φύλακες οἱ καὶ ἀγρο[υ]φύλα(κες).  
, Παῆσις Πατ[β]ῶτος μητ(ρὸς) Ε . [  
, Ωρος Παμούνιος μητ(ρὸς) Ε[υ]  
[ . . . ] . !μ( ) [

On the verso

15 ] . αφθει //

2. *Χινε*: cf. ll. 8-9. If the two patronymics there are identical, *Χινεῖτος* or *Χινεῖτος* would be likely, but neither form is attested.

5. The title *ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* is known from the Paris papyrus published by Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* xxxix, pp. 817 sqq., of A. D. 196-7, i. e. about the same date as 2122; cf. P. Bouriant 41 a 19. It is perhaps no more than a variant of *εἰρηνοφύλαξ*.

11. *ἀγο[υ]φύλα(κες)*, if correct, is noteworthy as an early use of the title, of which P. Brit. Mus. 403. 11 (ii, p. 276, A. D. 346) seems to be the oldest instance that has occurred hitherto. *ἀπ[δ] φυλ(ακῆς?)* might be read, and perhaps interpreted as 'prison-guards', but such a distinction is hardly probable.

14. If the ι is right, the preceding letter is likely to be π, σ, or τ.

15. This line, which is written in rather large letters at right angles to the text on the recto, looks like an endorsement; it is presumably part of a name, personal or local.

## 2123. NOMINATION TO OFFICE.

10.6 × 12.6 cm.

A. D. 247-8.

Nomination, addressed by two village comarchs (cf. 2121. 84, n.) to the strategus of the nome, of a person to serve as an assistant. Texts of this class are not uncommon; cf. e. g. 1116, P. Flor. 2. In the present case the nomination was made on the order of the *rationalis* and a *procurator Augustorum*; that the assistant was required for the service of those high officials is not stated, but may be assumed as the easiest way of accounting for their intervention.

Αὐρηλίῳ Φιλοξένῳ στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγχίτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσίου νεωπ(έρου) Χαιρᾶ-  
 τος μητρὸς Ταφίλωνος καὶ Διονύσιος  
 Διονυσίου μητρὸς Θαήσιος ἀμφότεροι  
 5 κωμαρχῶν κόμης Νεσμείμεως  
 τῶν καὶ ὑπογραφόντων. τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 ε (ἔτους) Μάρκων Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππων  
 Καισάρων τῶν κυρίῳ ἐ[ἰσ]δίδομεν  
 εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀκολουθῶσ τοῖς  
 10 κελουθεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου  
 καθολικοῦ Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου καὶ  
 Μαρκίου Σαλουταρίῳ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 ἐπιτρόπου Σεβαστῶν· ἔστι δὲ  
 [Αὐ]ρήλιος Θε[εω]νᾶς Ἀτρήτος μητρὸς  
 15 [ . . . . . ] . . . . [ . . . . . ]

3. 1. Διονυσίου. 4. 1. ἀμφοτέρων. 7. ἰουλιῳ. 9. ὑπηρ. 10. ὑπο.

'To Aurelius Philoxenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Dionysius the younger, son of Chaeras and Taphilon, and Dionysius son of Dionysius and Thaësis, both comarchs of the village of Nesmimis, and subscribers of this document. For the present 5th year of the Marci Iulii Philippi, Caesars and lords, we present for service as assistant, in accordance with the orders of his honour the *rationalis* Claudius Marcellus and his excellency Marcius Salutaris, Imperial procurator: the name is Aurelius Theonas son of Hatres and . . .

8. ἐ[ἰσ]δίδομεν: the uncompounded verb, which is frequent in nominations of this kind, does not account for all the vestiges.

10-14. The same pair figure in 78. 14-16, P. Brit. Mus. 1157, verso 5-6 (iii, p. 110, A.D. 246). Apparently, as Wilcken observes (*Archiv*, iv, p. 539), they formed a single bureau.

## 2124. NOMINATION TO OFFICE.

25 x 11.8 cm.

A.D. 316.

Nomination addressed, as commonly in the fourth century (cf. e.g. 1424-5, P. Amh. 139) to the *praepositus pagi*, by three local ex-collectors of corn-dues, giving the names of three persons to act in the same capacity in the current year; these include the name of one of the ex-collectors, who thus nominated himself.

Nomination by outgoing officials of their successors is unusual; cf., however, 1204. 4, where one *decemprius* nominates another.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾷ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ πραιπ(οσίτῳ)  
 ἡ πάγου νομοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρακλείῳ Πεκωούτος  
 καὶ Ἰακῶβ Ὀρίωνος καὶ Θῶνις Ἀτρήτος  
 5 οἱ γ γενόμενοι ἀπαιτηταὶ σίτου κόμης  
 [Δ]ωσιθέ[ο]υ τοῦ διελθόντος ἔτους ἐνάτου  
 καὶ ζ (ἔτους). δίδωμεν καὶ εἰσαγγέλλομεν τῷ ἰδί(ῳ)  
 ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ εἰς ἀπαίτησιν σίτου  
 τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης γενήμα(τος) ι καὶ η (ἔτους)  
 10 ἰ[δ]ιωτικ[ο]ῦ καὶ ὄνος τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐνγε[γ]ραμμέν-  
 [ους] ὄντ[α]ς εὐπόρους καὶ ἐπιτηδίους  
 π[ρ]ὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. εἰσὶ δὲ {Αὐ[ρ]ήλιοι}  
 Αὐρήλιοι  
 Θε[ε] . . . ζ [Δ][ο]γάτος,  
 15 [ . . . ] . . [ . ] Διονυσίου,  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείῳ Πεκωούτος προγεγρα(μμένος),  
 [ἀ]πὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης.  
 [ὑ]π[α]τία[ς] Κ[α]ικ[ι]μ[ι]ο[υ] Σαβείνου καὶ Οὐεττίου  
 Ἐ[ρ]ο[φ]ί[νο]υ τῶν λαμπροτάτων.  
 20 2nd hand Αὐρήλιοι Ἡράκλειος καὶ Θῶνις καὶ Ἰακῶβ  
 ἐπιτεδῶκαμεν. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος  
 ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(έρ) αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδόντων γράμματα.

4. ἰακῶβ: so l. 20. 5. 1. τῶν γ γενομένων ἀπαιτητῶν. 7. 1. δίδομεν. εἰσαγγέλ.  
 . . . ἰδ. 16. 1. Ἡρακλείος.

'To Aurelius Heras also called Dionysius, praepositus of the 8th pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Heracleius son of Pekoous and Jacob son of Horion and Thonis son of Hatres, all three ex-collectors of corn at the village of Dositheou in the past 9th which = the 7th year. We present and report at our own risk for the office of collector of corn at the said village of the produce of the 10th which = the 8th year for the private impost the persons whose names follow below, being well-to-do and suitable for this service. They are the Aurelii The . . . son of Diogas, . . . son of Dionysius, Aurelius Heracleius son of Pekoous the aforesaid, of the said village. In the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus the most illustrious. Presented by us the Aurelii Heracleius, Thonis and Jacob. I, Aurelius Theodorus, wrote for them, as they are illiterate.'

1. Cf. 2113. 3, 2114. 2, where the additional name Dionysius (cf. 1425. 4) is not given.

6. [Δ]ωσιθέ[ο]υ is confirmed by the fact that the village was in the 8th pagus (1425. 6). For the regnal years cf. *Archiv*, iii. 383.

7. ἰδι(φ): so too e.g. 1426. 7, P. Thead. 50. 7. In view of such instances Wilcken's inference from P. Flor. 2 in *Grundz.* p. 349 that 'der Staat immer mehr Bürgschaften für die Liturgen verlangte' needs qualification.

10. ἰδ[ι]ωτικ[ο]ῦ καν[ὸ]νος: apparently a novel collocation, meaning imposts on private land. For δημόσιος κανὸν Preisigke, *Wörterb.*, cites P. Klein Form. 1184, but probably δημο(σίω) not -(σίω) should there be written; cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 1667. 3-4.

16. The appearance of this line in which the ink has run to some extent suggests that it has replaced something which was washed out. προγεγρα(μμένος) is not altogether satisfactory.

17. Cf. 1425. 11-12.

## 2125. RECEIPT FOR CORN FOR TRANSPORT.

27.2 x 9.9 cm.

A.D. 220-1.

This acknowledgement by a skipper of the receipt of corn for transport to Alexandria is a close parallel to 1259, and more satisfactory restoration of some of the lacunae in the conclusion of that text can now be made on comparison with this better preserved specimen; cf. nn. on ll. 12-14, 26-32. The date-clause is lost, but the third century is clearly indicated by the hand, and the name of the strategus in l. 9 (see the n.) shows that the 'past third year' which is mentioned in l. 19 refers to the reign of Elagabalus.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος  
 Ἀμμωνίου ναύκληρος  
 χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως πλο[ί]ων  
 γ' ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) μυριάδος) α' Ἐ Αὐρηλίω  
 5 Σαραπίωνι σιτολόγῳ ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας)  
 Σκὼ τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. παρέλα-  
 βον καὶ παραμεμέτρημαι παρὰ  
 σοῦ τὰς [ἐπ]ισταλείσας μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 10 τε στρατη[γοῦ] Αὐρηλίου Ἀρποκρα-  
 τίωνος καὶ Αὐρηλίου Νεμεσί[ω]νος  
 τοῦ καὶ Δωνυσίου βασιλικοῦ γρα(μματέως),  
 ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς ἐμβολῆς τεταγμένων  
 καὶ ὧν ἄλλων δέον ἐστίν, [ἀ]π[ὸ]

15 δημοσίων ἐ[η]σαύρων τῆς π[ρ]ο-  
 κειμένης σειτολογίας εἰς ὄρ[μ]ον  
 Σατύρου τοῦ μεγάλου ποτα-  
 μοῦ πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ  
 διελθόντος γ' (ἔτους) καθαροῦ ἀδόλου  
 20 ἀβώλ[ου ἀκρί]θου ἀδιπατήτου  
 κεκοσκινευμένου μέτρῳ δη-  
 μοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ {δημοσίῳ}  
 μετρήσε[ι] τῇ κελευσθείσῃ σὺν  
 (ἑκατοστῇ) α καὶ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας  
 25 ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ, γίνονται (ἀρτάβαι) ος,  
 ἃς καὶ κατὰξω εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρειαν καὶ παραδώσω εἰς τὸν ἐν  
 τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει χειρισμὸν πλή-  
 ρη κα(κα)κούργητον τὸν γόμον.  
 30 κυρία ἢ ἀποχῆ (τρισοῆ) γραφείσα, σοὶ  
 μὲν τῷ σιτολόγῳ ἀπλή τῷ δὲ στρα(τηγῷ)  
 δισσή, καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα.  
 2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Ἀμ(μ)ωνιος Ἀμ(μ)ωνίου  
 ναύκληρος χειρισμοῦ Νέας  
 35 πόλεως μεμέτρημε καὶ ἐμ-  
 βέβλημε τὰς τ[ο]ῦ [πυ]ροῦ  
 σὺν ἡμιαρταβί[φ] καὶ ἑκα-  
 τοστῇ [μιᾶ] ἀρτάβας ἑβδο-  
 [μήκοντα ἑπτὰ . . .

20. ου of ἀκρί]θου corr.

35-6. 1. μεμέτρημαι καὶ ἐμβέβλημαι.

'Aurelius Ammonius son of Ammonius, shipmaster in the administration of Neapolis of 3 boats carrying 15,000 artabae, to Aurelius Sarapion, sitologus of the Sko district in the upper toparchy, greeting. I have received and had measured out to me from you the amount ordered me by the strategus Aurelius Harpocration and Aurelius Nemesion also called Dionysius, basilicogrammateus, with the concurrence of those placed in charge of the *embole* and the other proper officials, from the public granaries of the aforesaid sitologus-district at the harbour of Satyrus on the great river, of wheat from the produce of the past 3rd year, pure, unadulterated, free from earth or barley, of the first treading (?), sifted, by the public half-artaba measure according to the prescribed measurement, with a percentage



of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, seventy-seven artabae, total 77 art., which I will carry to Alexandria and will deliver to the administration at Neapolis an entire and undamaged cargo. This receipt is valid and is done in triplicate, one copy for you the sitologus and two for the strategus, and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.' Signature of Aurelius Ammonius, and date (lost).

9. This strategus was known from 1283, which could be dated either in 212 or 219; the latter year was accepted as the more probable and is now shown to be correct.

10-11. Aurelius Nemesion also called Dionysius was still basilicogrammateus in A. D. 226 according to 1459. 1-2; cf. P. Hamb. 19. 1.

12-14. This clause may perhaps now be recognized in 1259. 19-21, where something like *ἐπακολουθούτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς (?) ἐμβολῆς καὶ ὧν δέον ἐστὶ | πάντων* would be suitable enough.

20. *ἀδιαπήτου*: so 1259. 15, where *ἀδιαπήτου* was supposed to be meant. But a repetition of that mistake is unlikely, and there is certainly no *a* here between the *ι* and *π*, if those letters are rightly read; nor is *ἀδιαπήτου* in itself very satisfactory. May not *ἀδιαπήτου* after all be correct? The form is not impossible, and that the quality of corn might be affected by the method of the treading out is indicated by 988 *κριθὴν καλῶς πεπατημένην*.

21-2. *δημοσίῳ ἡμάρταβίῳ*: so 1472. 18-19.

24. The same percentage occurs in 1259. 16; cf. the n. there.

26. Very likely the article preceded *Ἀλεξάνδρειαν* also in 1259. 21.

27-8. 1259. 22 is to be restored on this analogy [*εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει χειρισμόν*].

30-1. Cf. 1259. 25-6, where *ἦν ἐξεδόμεν* is probably to be omitted, *δι]σση* and *μοναχῆ* (or *ἀπλῆ*) replacing the accusatives. As stated in the n. *ad loc.*, the supplement in l. 25 was too long.

32. *καὶ . . . ὠμολόγησα*: this clause is quite as likely in 1259. 24 as *τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κινδύνῳ* proposed by P. M. Meyer in P. Neutest. 14 int.

39. A few vestiges of this line are too slight for recognition.

## 2126. RECEIPT FROM A DECEMPRIMUS.

13.4 × 16.5 cm.

A. D. 261-2 (?).

Receipt issued by a *decemprimus* (l. 6, n.) for a delivery of corn. The date-formula is of some interest; cf. n. on ll. 1-3.

Μεμέτρη(ται) εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πυροῦ γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ[θ(όντος)] ἠ (ἔτους)  
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανῶν  
καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστῶν δι(ὰ) θησ(αύρου) λιβῶς τοπ(αρχίας)  
Σερούφως τόπ(ων) Σπαρτιάτης ὁ καὶ Χαιρήμων γυ[μ(νασιαρχήσας)]  
5 διὰ Ἀγάθου θέμα ἀρταβ(ῶν) ἑκατόν.  
Ἀύρηλιος Σαραπίων δε(κά)π(ρωτος) σεσ(ημείωμα) τὰς (ἀρτάβας) ρ.

<sup>1</sup> Measured to the public account from the produce of the past 8th year of our lords the Valeriani and Gallienus, Augusti, through the granary of the district of Seruphis in the

western toparchy by Spartiates also called Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch, through Agathus, a deposit of a hundred artabae. Signed by me, Aurelius Sarapion, *decemprimus*, 100 art.'

1-3. Cf. P. Ryl. 110. 11 τὸ ἔρεστος ζ (ἔτος) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Οὐαλεριαν]ῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστῶν, where by [Οὐαλεριανῶν, as ll. 21-4 prove, Valerian and Saloninus are meant. The similar datings in P. Gen. 44. 2, 29 and Flor. 208 recto are to be interpreted in the same way; Οὐαλεριανῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ could not stand for Valerian and Valerian Gallienus, as taken by Wilcken, *Archiv*, iii, p. 397. In Milne, *Gr. Inscr.* (Catalogue général) 9358 (SB. 776) Οὐαλεριανῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνῶν, the termination of the latter name alone, if rightly read, requires correction. The same formula is possible also in B. G. U. 746. 1-2. In P. Hamb. 21. 20-1 Οὐαλεριανῶν may include Saloninus as well as Gallienus.

The slight remains of the figure in l. 1 seem best to suit  $\eta$ , and though Valerian was a prisoner in Persia in the 9th year, his name may have been retained; cf. P. Grenf. ii. 69. 2, where it occurs as late as the 13th. His 8th year is the last found on coins.

6. δε(κά)π(ρωτος): the abbreviation consists of  $\delta$  followed by an angular mark apparently representing  $\epsilon$  and the usual long curved stroke standing for  $\pi$ . The abbreviation of σεσημείωμα is almost identical except for the initial  $\sigma$ ; perhaps σε(σ)η(μείωμα) should be written for this.

## 2127. MUNICIPAL ACCOUNT.

12.8 × 13.8 cm.

Late second century.

Fragment of an account relating to municipal expenditure, no doubt at Oxyrhynchus. Cf. 2128 and 1496. Line 6, which mentions a disbursement for a procession during the tenure of the office of exegetes, suggests that that was the office held by the keeper of the account; cf. also l. 3. Other items which occur are payments for sacrifices in the theatre, on one occasion in connexion with a popular festival (*πανήγυρις*, l. 4), and for repair and heating of baths. The beginnings of lines are missing throughout, but that the loss is not very great is indicated by l. 4, where there seems to be a lacuna of about a dozen letters. Very likely, however, the first lines of the individual items were made to protrude, so that in l. 3, e. g. though the space looks smaller, the loss may be approximately the same. The tenth and eleventh years mentioned in ll. 3 and 5 may be referred with probability to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, i. e. A. D. 169-71, and the document would not be much later than that time. On the verso in a different hand are remains of another account relating to land, much discoloured and effaced.

] . α ἀργυροταμί[. .] καὶ πρόσκειπ(αι) διὰ τοῦ [τ]ρα(πεξίτου) Μεχέρ η  
(τάλαντα) [γ ?  
[. . . . .]ων ε (τάλ.) α, / (τάλ.) δ.  
ἐξη]γητεύσα(ντος) ι (ἔτει) δηλ(ωθέντος) ὑπὸ τοῦ προῦ ἐμοῦ διὰ τ(ὸ) ὀφεί-  
λ(ειν) ὑπὲρ θύ[σι . .

[. . . γεινομ(έν . .) ἐν τῷ] θεάτρῳ πανηγύρει Τῦβι Παχὸν (τάλ.) α,  
 5 [Ζ ἐδόθησαν]? ἀργυρο]ταμίᾳ ια (ἔτους) μηνὶ Ἀδριανῷ ιβ (δρ.) Ἐ, λοιπ(αί)  
 (δρ.) Ἀ.  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς κα]τὰ τὴν ἐξηγητείαν πομπαγωγίας (τάλ.) α.  
 ] υἱὸς Ἐπιμάχου ἐξηγητοῦ ε (ἔτους) γυμνασιάρχ( ) πρωτ[. .  
 δηλ(ωθέντος) ὑπὸ τοῦ] πρὸ ἐμοῦ ὀφείλειν εἰς μὲν ὑπόκαυσιν βαλ(ανείου)  
 γ[υμ(νασίου)  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ κατασ]κευῆς τὸ πρὶν παλαιοῦ βαλ(ανείου) γυμ(νασίου) (δρ.) Ἄνος,  
 βαλα[ν . .  
 10 ]ωρίῳ (δρ.) Ἀ, καὶ ὑπὲρ παραδόσεως ου . [. . .  
 ὑπὲρ] θυσιῶν δύο γεινομ(ένων) ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς  
 (δρ.)] Ἄσος . [. . . . .]εβάλετο, καὶ πρ[ό]σκ(εῖται) [  
 ὑπὲρ ὑπο]καύσεω[ς] βαλ(ανείου) γ[υμ(να-  
 σίου)

3. ὑπο.

7. υἱος.

8. ὑποκαυσιν.

10-11. ὑπερ.

1. Perhaps ἀργυροταμί[α] as in l. 5, but there would be room for -μ[ε]ου]. The term occurs in inscriptions but is new in papyri.

3-4. Cf. l. 11.

6. πομπαγωγεί is in Hesychius, but the substantive is apparently novel.

8. Cf. l. 13, and e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 1166 (iii, p. 104), a contract with a gymnasiarch-elect for the heating of the bath at the gymnasium.

9. κατασ]κευῆς: οἱ ἐπισ]κευῆς. Cf. 54, an application made in A. D. 201 to a gymnasiarch and an exegetes for payment for ἐπισκευῆς καὶ κατασκευῆς Ἀδριανῶν θερμῶν, *Archiv*, iv, p. 117 ἐπιμεληταῖς ἐπισκευῆς θερμῶν, and 2128. 6.10. Possibly ἐν (οἱ πρὸς) τῷ πραι]τωρίῳ, as probably in the Leipzig papyrus in *Archiv*, iv, p. 116, μ[ε]σθω[τ]αῖς ὑδροπαροχίας] καὶ ἀχρυπαροχίας [? τοῦ ἐν τῷ πραι]τωρίῳ βαλανείου, on which cf. Wilcken's note, *ibid.*, p. 121. At the end of the line οὐ]λῶν would be not unsuitable; cf. 2128. 8, n.

## 2128. MUNICIPAL ACCOUNT.

21.2 x 14 cm.

Late second century.

A short account, without any heading, of payments made for various official purposes; cf. 2127. An entry in l. 10 throws some light on the meaning of the obscure term πελωχικόν.

Ἡρακλίδῃ Ἀπολλωνίου (τάλαντ?) . (δραχμαὶ?) . .  
 ὑδροπαρόχοις (δρ.) Ἰτπγ (δύβολοι).  
 Πουπλίῳ Αἰλίῳ Διογένει καὶ Ἀτρή Ἀκόριος  
 ἐγλήμφορσι θυρῶν Καπιτωλείου (δρ.) Ἰβφ.  
 5 Δημητρίῳ καὶ Διογένει ἐπιμελητ(αῖς)  
 κατασκευῆς πύλης (δρ.) Ἰβ.  
 Καλλινίκῳ Ἐπιμάχου καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ)  
 ἐγλήμφορσι οὐήλων (δρ.) Ἰφ.  
 διεγράφη εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τρά(πεζαν)  
 10 ὠνῆς πελωχικ(οῦ) καὶ καθαρουργ(ίας) (τάλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀχνα.  
 Ἰπάτῳ Παυλινίου καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιμελ(ηταῖς)  
 Ἀντωνινιανῶν θερμῶν (δρ.) Ἰβ.  
 Διονυσίῳ τῷ κ(αὶ) Πετρωνιανῷ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 νυκτοφυλάκων (δρ.) Ἰβ.

10. 1. πελωχικ(οῦ).

'To Heraclides son of Apollonius . . talents . . drachmae. To the providers of water 3383 dr. 2 obols. To Publius Aelius Diogenes and Hatres son of Akoris, contractors for the doors of the Capitol, 2500 dr. To Demetrius and Diogenes, superintendents of the construction of the gate, 2000 dr. To Callinicus son of Epimachus and the associated contractors for hangings 3500 dr. Paid to the public bank on account of the milling (?) and fine-bread contract 1 tal. 1651 dr. To Hypatus son of Paulinius and the associated superintendents of the warm baths of Antoninus 2000 dr. To Dionysius also called Petronianus in command of the 50 night watchmen 2000 dr.'

2. ὑδροπαρόχοις: perhaps for the service of the baths; cf. l. 12 and the passage quoted in the n. on 2127. 10, with Wilcken's note *ad loc.*

4. For the Καπιτωλείου at Oxyrhynchus cf. 2109. 8, n.

8. οὐήλων, *velorum*, apparently occurs in papyri only here and perhaps in 2127. 10. Hangings or awnings for the theatre may be meant.10. Cf. B.G.U. 1062 [W. 276], which relates to the ὠνὴ πελωχικῶν at Oxyrhynchus, and P. Ryl. 167. 18-20 τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μυλαιοῦ δημοσίων τοῦ πελωχικῶν, which showed that the tax had something to do with milling. That connexion is strongly emphasized by the association of the term in the present passage with καθαρουργ(ία), i. e. the baking of ἄρτοι καθαροί, fine bread; cf. SB. 984. 4 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν . . καθαρουργῶν καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν, C. P. R. 207. 12 καθαρουργίου. Concerning the derivation and precise meaning of πελωχικόν we are still in the dark. The suggestion of K. F. W. Schmidt, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1925, p. 15, that it is a Coptic word meaning κοιλὴ and that the tax was on the retailing of oil, is evidently wide of the mark.

12. Cf. the Ἀδριανὰ or Τραιανὰ Ἀδρ. θερμά in 54. 14, 896. 7.

14. That the νυκτοφύλακες (cf. 2121. 25. n.) numbered 50 is interesting, but not surprising; cf. the large number of φύλακες in 43 verso.

## 2129. TAXATION ACCOUNT.

26.2 x 38.3 cm.

A.D. 205-6?

This account is on the verso of 2111, which was cut to receive it in a rather curious way. A piece taken from the roll containing that text was filled by Cols. i-iii of the account, which proceed in the same direction as the columns of the recto. Wishing to add Col. iv the writer then cut off another strip which originally adjoined his first piece on the left as the verso lay uppermost, and proceeded to write upon it in the reverse direction. Consequently when the two pieces are put together in the manner required by 2111, Col. iv of the account precedes Cols. i-iii and is upside down.

The account deals with the taxation of certain plots of land in the six Oxyrhynchite toparchies, which are placed in their usual official order. Most of the land was held by one Saras, of the village of Mermertha, or by members of his family (daughters ll. 17, 25-6, 83, father ll. 55, 83), whose names are not given; a different ownership is once mentioned (l. 42). After the specification of the property comes a statement of the amounts assessed for various taxes; this is followed by another detailing the amounts paid, the total of which is finally compared with the total to be collected. From the repeated occurrence of the tax on sales (*ἐγκύκλιον*) and the tax *καταλοχισμῶν* (cf. P. Tebt. 357. 3, n.) it is to be inferred that many of the plots had just changed hands, and that they belonged to the category of catoecic land. A noticeable point about these two imposts is that the amounts due under the latter are usually, though not invariably (ll. 63-7), about one-fifth of those due under the former. The other taxes named are mainly charges on acreage, including rates of 4 (l. 18, n.), 2 (ll. 3, 53, 74), and 1 dr. per arura. On the two latter of these cf. 1442, int. Of the 2-dr. rate two kinds here occur, which could be levied upon the same piece of land (l. 3); one of them is termed a *φόρος*, and a *φόρος* is coupled, rather obscurely, also with the 1-dr. tax in l. 54. Similarly more than one kind of 1-dr. tax should possibly be distinguished. This is often (ll. 4, 19, &c.) described as a (*δραχμῆς*) *ζευγματικῶν*, a collocation of doubtful meaning previously found only in P. Brit. Mus. 1157 (iii, pp. 62 sqq.; cf. 1442, int.) together with the 2-dr. rate. But the qualification *ζευγματικῶν* is sometimes omitted (e.g. ll. 54, 60, 63), and it is hardly safe to assume that the omission always lacks significance, especially as a *δραχμῆς* is used absolutely in 1442. On the other hand it is quite likely, except perhaps in l. 54, that the omission of *ζευγματικῶν* after a (*δραχμῆς*) means no more than the omission of a (δρ.) before *ζευγματικῶν* in l. 11. Another recurring charge is 'for Paxamus', an individual through whom the taxes were collected. A small amount for *ναύβιον* is entered once only (l. 11).

A date in the third century is indicated by the hand, and the 14th year mentioned in l. 1 is perhaps more likely to refer to the reign of Septimius Severus (205-6) than of Gallienus (266-7); even so the interval between recto and verso will be a fairly wide one. In connexion with 1442 it was observed that land taxes called 1 or 2 dr. are not known before A.D. 219, but in the present state of the evidence that is hardly a sufficient reason for assigning 2129 to the later date.

## Col. i.

Ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας) μερίδ(ος) Θερμουθίανος ἰδ (ἔτους)  
 ὀνόμ(ατος) Σαρᾶ Μερμέρθ(ων) (ἄρουρ.) η,  
 β (δραχμῶν) φό(ρου) α/ β (δραχμ ) (δρ.) λβ, τὸ γ',  
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) κα (δύβ.). α (δραχμῆς) ζευγματικῶν τελ(ῶν)  
 5 (ἄρουρ.) η (δρ.) η, τέλ(ους) ἐγκυκλ(ίου) (δρ.) α (τριώβ.),  
 καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δύβ.), Παξάμ(ω) (ἄρουρ. ?) β,  
 / κα[?] (τούτων ?) (δρ.) ια (πεντώβ.), (δρ.) η, / (δρ.) κθ (δύβ.).  
 ὀνόμ(ατος) τῆς θυγα(τρὸς) (ἄρουρ.) ιεή (δρ.) μ (δύβ.),  
 α (δραχμῆς) καὶ ἄλ(λων) (δρ.) ιε (πεντώβ.), / (δρ.) νς,  
 10 / (δρ.) πε (δύβ.).  
 L δι(ὰ) Παξάμ(ου) ναυ(βίου) (δρ.) γ (πεντώβ.), ζευγματικῶν  
 ἀπὸ Φαῶ(φι) (δρ.) α, Ἄθῦρ (δρ.) α, Χοί(ακ)  
 (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.), Τῦβι (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.), / (δρ.) ε (δύβ.).  
 . . ἀπὸ Μεχείρ ἕως Χοί(ακ) ἐκ (δρ.) ς (τριωβ.).  
 15 μη(νῶν) ια (δρ.) οα (τριώβ.), λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) δ.  
 μερίδ(ος) Ἀπολλωνίου ὀνόμ(ατος) Σαρᾶ  
 (ἄρουρ.) ς δ' ἡλβ' ξδ', ὀνόμ(ατος) θυγα(τρὸς) (ἄρουρ.) ζδ',  
 / (ἄρουρ.) ιγλῆ', δ (δραχμῶν) (δρ.) νδ (τριώβ.), τὸ γ'  
 (δρ.) ιη (δβ.), λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) λς (δύβ.), α (δραχμῆς)  
 20 ζευγματικῶν (δρ.) ιγ (τριώβ.), τέλ(ους) (δρ.) δ (τετρώβ.), / (δρ.) ν (πεντώβ.).  
 L δι(ὰ) Παξάμ(ου) (δρ.) β (δύβ.), Φαῶ(φι) (δρ.) α, Ἄθῦρ  
 (δρ.) α, Χοί(ακ) (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.), Τῦβι (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.),  
 / (δρ.) ζ (τετρώβ.), μη(νῶν) ια ἐκ (δρ.) γ (τριωβ.) (δρ.) λη (τριώβ.),  
 / (δρ.) μς (δβ.), λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) δ (τετρώβ.).  
 25 λιβ(ὸς) τοπ(αρχίας) ὀνόμ(ατος) Σαρᾶ (ἄρουρ.) ξλ, ὀνόμ(ατος) τῶν  
 θυγα(τέρων) (ἄρουρ.) ριεδ', / (ἄρουρ.) ρος (δρ.) ψδ, τὸ γ'

(δρ.) σλδ (τετρώβ.), λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) υξθ (δυόβ.).  
 α (δραχμῆς) ζευγ(ατικῶν) (δρ.) ρος, ἐνκυκλ(ίου) (δρ.) λς (δυόβ.),  
 καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δρ.) ζ, Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) μδ (δρ.) ρθ,  
 30 / (δρ.) χνθ (δυόβ.).

## Col. ii.

⊥ δι(ὰ) Παξάμ(ου) (δρ.) [κζ], Φαῶ(φι) (δρ.) ιδ, Ἄθῦρ (δρ.) ιδ,  
 Χοί(ακ) (δρ.) ιδ (τετρώβ.), Τῦβι (δρ.) θ (δυόβ.), / (δρ.) οθ,  
 ἀπ[δ] Μεχ(εῖρ) ἕως Χοί(ακ) μη(νῶν) ια  
 ἐκ (δρ.) νς (δρ.) χις, / (δρ.) χγε,  
 35 // (δρ.) λς.  
 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) τοπ(αρχίας) (ἄρουρ.) ςδ' κδ' (δρ.) κε (ὀβ.). λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ις  
 (πεντώβ.).  
 α (δραχμῆς) καὶ ἀλ(λων) (δρ.) θ (δρ.) ς (τριώβ.), / (δρ.) κγ (ὀβ.).  
 ⊥ Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.), [[Φαῶ(φι)]] ἀπὸ Μεχ(εῖρ) ἕως  
 Χοί(ακ) μη(νῶν) ια ἐκ (δρ.) α (δρ.) ια, / (δρ.) ιβ (τετρώβ.),  
 40 λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ι (δυόβ.).  
 μέσ(ης) τοπ(αρχίας) μερίδ(ος) Διδύμ(ου) ὀνόμ(ατος) Σαρᾶ  
 (ἄρουρ.) ιλ, [δ]νόμ(ατος) Θεωνίνου ἀπὸ Κόσμ(ου)  
 (ἄρουρ.) δ [[καὶ . . . ερ . . .]], γ(ίνονται) (ἄρουρ.) ιδλ.  
 δ (δραχμῶν) (δρ.) νη, τὸ γ', λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) λη (τετρώβ.),  
 45 α (δραχμῆς) ζευγ(ατικῶν) (δρ.) ιδ (τριώβ.), ἐνκυκλ(ίου) καὶ  
 καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δρ.) γ (δυόβ.), Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.),  
 / (δρ.) κα (δυόβ.) (δρ.) ιε (δυόβ.), / (δρ.) νδ.  
 ⊥ Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) γ, Φαῶ(φι) (δρ.) β, Ἄθῦρ (δρ.) β,  
 Χοί(ακ) (δρ.) α (δυόβ.), Τῦβι (δρ.) α (δυόβ.), / (δρ.) θ (τετρώβ.),  
 50 καὶ ἀπὸ Μεχ(εῖρ) ἕως Χοί(ακ) ἐκ (δρ.) γ μη(νῶν)  
 ια (δρ.) λγ. / (δρ.) μβ (τετρώβ.), λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ια (δυόβ.).  
 μερίδ(ος) Πόηρεως Σαρᾶ φό(ρου) καὶ  
 β (δραχμῶν) (δρ.) [[τλθ τετρώβ.]] τμα (τετρώβ.),  
 φό(ρου) καὶ α (δραχμῆς?) [(δρ.)] Βσοδ χ(αλκ.) γ, ἀλ(λαι)  
 55 ἀπὸ ὀνόμ(ατος) [τ]οῦ πατ(ρός) (δρ.) Βσλα (ὀβ.) (ἡμιωβ.),  
 / (δρ.) Δωμζ, τὸ γ', λοιπ(αί) (δρ.) Τσλα.

31. ιδ in both places written above ε, which is crossed through.

## Col. iii.

καὶ ἀπὸ Μεχ(εῖρ) ἕως Χοί(ακ) μη(νῶν)  
 ια ἐκ (δρ.) σπ. / (δρ.) ἴπ,  
 λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ρνα.

60 α (δραχμῆς) (δρ.) πε (δυόβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), ἐνκυκλ(ίου)  
 (δρ.) ιε (δυόβ.), καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δρ.) γ χ(αλκ.) β,  
 Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) κζ (ὀβ.?).  
 α (δραχμῆς) (δρ.) ρζ (τετρώβ.), τέλ(ους) (δρ.) κβ (τριώβ.),  
 καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.?) (ἡμιωβ.?), Παξάμ(φ)  
 65 (δρ.) κε (τετρώβ.), ζευγ(ατικῶν) (δρ.) μς (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.),  
 ἐνκυκλ(ίου) (δρ.) ιβ (τετρώβ.?) (ἡμιωβ.), κατα(λο)χ(ισμῶν)  
 (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.), Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) ια (τετρώβ.).  
 / (δρ.) σξβ.  
 ⊥ Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) μγ (τριώβ.), Φαῶ(φι) (δρ.) ιθ,  
 70 Ἄθῦρ (δρ.) ιθ, Χοί(ακ) (δρ.) ιβ (τετρώβ.), Τῦβι  
 (δρ.) ιβ (τετρώβ.), / (δρ.) ρς (πεντώβ.),  
 λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ρνε (ὀβ.). / (δρ.) τς.

l. 62 inserted later.

## Col. iv.

Θμοι(σεφῶ) τοπ(αρχίας) [[φό(ρου) (δρ.) τθ (ὀβ.)]] ἀμπ(έλου) (ἄρουρ.) γλ (δρ.)  
 σκ (ὀβ.),  
 σί(του) (ἄρουρ.) η, / (δρ.?) σλς, α/ β (δραχμ.) (δρ.) νγ,  
 75 / (δρ.) σογ, τὸ γ', λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ρπβ.  
 α (δραχμῆς) (δρ.) ια (τριώβ.), ἐνκυκλ(ίου) (δρ.) β (πεντώβ.), καταλοχ(ισμῶν)  
 (τριώβ.),  
 Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) γ, / (δρ.) ιζ (πεντώβ.), / (δρ.) ιγ, / (δρ.) ργε.  
 ⊥ Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) γ (δυόβ.), Φαμ(ενῶθ) (δρ.) β, Ἄθῦρ (δρ.) β,  
 Χοί(ακ) (δρ.) α (δυόβ.), Τῦβι (δρ.) α (δυόβ.), / (δρ.) ι,  
 80 καὶ ἀπὸ Μεχ(εῖρ) ἕως Χοί(ακ) μη(νῶν) ια  
 ἐκ (δρ.) ις (δρ.) ρος, / (δρ.) ρπς,  
 λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) θ.

- κάτω τοπ(αρχίας) ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς (δρ.) γνβ, θυγατρὸς  
 (δρ.) ωκ (τριώβ.), / (δρ.) Ἀψοβ (τριώβ.), τὸ γ' (δρ.) φγ (τετρώβ.),  
 85 λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) Ἄρπα (πεντώβ.),  
 καὶ ἀπὸ Μεχ(εῖρ) ἕως Χο(ακ) μη(νῶν) ια ἐκ (δρ.) ριγ  
 (δρ.) Ἄσμγ.  
 α (δραχμῆς) (δρ.) σλη (ἡμιώβ.), τέλ(ους) ἐνκυκλ(ίου) (δρ.) μβ (τριώβ.),  
 καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δρ.) η (τριώβ.), Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) νθ (δυόβ.),  
 90 / (δρ.) τμη, θυγατρὸς (δρ.) μ (δυόβ.) (χαλκ.) β,  
 ἐνκυκλ(ίου) (δρ.) η (τετρώβ.), καταλοχ(ισμῶν) (δρ.) α (τριώβ.),  
 Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) ι, / (δρ.) ξ (τριώβ.), / (δρ.) υη (τριώβ.),  
 / (δρ.) σγε, / (δρ.) Ἄυος.  
 Λ Παξάμ(φ) (δρ.) με, Φαμ(ενῶθ) (δρ.) κγ, Ἀθῦρ (δρ.) κγ,  
 95 Χο(ακ) (δρ.) ιε (δυόβ.), Τῦβι (δρ.) ιγ (δυόβ.), / (δρ.) ριθ (τετρώβ.),  
 μη(νῶν) ια ἐκ (δρ.) ριγ (δρ.) Ἄσμγ,  
 / (δρ.) Ἀτξβ, λο(ιπαί) (δρ.) ριδ'.

73. φο(ρου?) . . . (ὀβολός) bracketed.

1. μερίθ(ος) Θερμουθίωνος: cf. ll. 16, 41, 52, where other μερίδες called after individuals occur. It is not clear whether these μερίδες were similar to the regional subdivisions of Oxyrhynchite toparchies which continued till the late third century (1546. 2-3).

3. φο( ) standing presumably for φ(ρου) recurs in ll. 52, 54, 73. The abbreviation before β (δραχμ) consists of an α and an oblique stroke joining the α on the line of writing. It is found again in a similar position in l. 74, where the arithmetic is somewhat complicated. Here two imposts of 2 dr. on 8 ar. are reckoned, as would be expected, at 32 dr. α/ therefore is not a tax, and perhaps stands for ἀπό or rather ἀνά, in which case a comma should be placed before φ(ρου). πρότερον, which is sometimes represented by a compendium of the same kind, does not suit this context.

4.  $32 \text{ dr.} - \frac{32}{3} = 21 \text{ dr.} 2 \text{ ob.}$  The same deduction of  $\frac{1}{3}$  is made expressly at ll. 18-19, 26-7, 44, 56, 75, 84-5, and is implied by the figures in l. 36. In most instances, at any rate, it applies to taxation at 4 or 2 dr. per arura, but its reason is nowhere explained.

5-7. Apparently the sign for ἄρουρα was written inadvertently after Παξάμ(φ) instead of that for δραχμή: the total 11 dr. 5 ob. in l. 7 is then correct. The symbol interpreted as (τούτων) is written Λ and is not unlike that used in e.g. l. 25 for  $\frac{1}{2}$  except that there the dot is replaced by an oblique dash. A similar sign is found in P. Brit. Mus. 755 verso 38, 47-8 (iii, p. 223) where the resolution (τούτων) is strongly commended by the context. By what process or for what reason the 11 dr. 5 ob. were reduced to 8 dr. is not revealed. Similar reductions are stated in ll. 47, 77, 92-3, and follow from the totals set down in ll. 20, 29, 68, as compared in each case with the preceding items. In l. 47 the smaller number is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the greater, and approximately the same relation is maintained elsewhere. In the present passage it might be supposed that the amounts for ἐγκύκλ. καταλοχ. and Παξ. were simply dropped, but that explanation would not apply to the other cases.

9. ἄλ(λων) presumably means ἐγκύκλ. and καταλοχ.; cf. l. 37. ν5 should strictly be ν5 (ὀβ.).

11. ζ(ευγματικῶν) similarly stands by itself in P. Brit. Mus. 1157. 15, 52.

14. What precedes ἀπό is not και, as expected. The ink has partially scaled away and the remains look more like δι(ά) than anything else, and possibly that word was inadvertently written; but there is no sign of correction.

15. The true remainder is 4 dr. 4 ob.

18. The two small fractions are ignored in the total of the arurae. The tax of 4 dr. occurs again by name in l. 44 and is implied by the figures also at ll. 26 and 36.

20. For τέλ(ους) cf. l. 63, where τέλ(ους) evidently stands for ἐγκυκλίον. But possibly in the present passage τελ(ῶν) including both ἐγκύκλ. and καταλοχ. should be read. The total at the end of the line does not correspond with the foregoing items, which make 53 dr. 3 ob.; cf. ll. 5-7, n.

26. In the total 176 the fractions are treated as a whole number. For (δρ.) ψδ cf. n. on l. 18.

29. The final figure 190 dr., which is added to the remainder in l. 27 to produce the total in l. 30, is again quite different from the sum of the foregoing items, which is 263 dr. 2 ob.

35. λ5: the two odd obols in l. 30 are ignored. Since these 36 dr. represent an excess, the usual λο(ιπαί) is replaced by two oblique dashes; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1212. 10 (iii, p. 91), where an excess may similarly be denoted.

37. (ὀβ.) should be (δυόβ.).

40. The difference is really 10 dr. 3 ob.; cf. l. 37, n.

42. Κόσμον itself was in the lower toparchy (1747. 53).

47. For the reduction of the amount cf. n. on ll. 5-7.

52. ὀνόματος is probably to be understood before Σαρᾶ: cf. ll. 16, 41.

53-5. In the absence of any statement of area the figures here given remain obscure; they appear to stand in no relation to the amounts put down for α (δρ.) in ll. 60 and 63. Since φ(ρου) καὶ β (δρ.) accounts for a smaller sum than φ(ρου) καὶ α (δρ.), these assessments must be on separate plots.

56. The 3 ch. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. of ll. 54-5 are ignored in the total 4847, and for the purpose of the division by 3 the last figure of that total was treated as 8.

63. τέλ(ους): sc. ἐγκυκλίον; cf. l. 20, n.

68. The sum of the items in ll. 60-1 is 103 dr.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ob. 2 ch., that of those in ll. 63-7 is 232 dr.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob., which, with the amount in the inserted l. 62 (see critical n.), give a total of 363 dr. 1 ob. As before, this has been largely reduced in the total actually recorded.

72. The sum of 306 dr. is obtained by adding the remainder just produced to that in l. 59, the odd obol being ignored as usual.

73. A φόρος ἀμπέλων is known from other sources, e.g. P. Ryl. 213. 115, &c., but since it was apparently a minor charge and the word has here been bracketed, the 220 dr. 1 ob. are probably not to be regarded as φόρος. On the taxation of vineyards see P. Ryl. ii, pp. 243 sqq. In the first century, according to a British Museum text there discussed, the three main taxes on ἀμπέλων amounted to 66 dr. 4 ob. per arura, from which the rate shown here is not far removed, if the area was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ar. The first figure is not very clearly formed, but γ is more suitable than θ, which is the only alternative.

74. For the abbreviation before β (δραχμ) cf. n. on l. 3. The 236 dr. were doubtless obtained by the addition of 2 dr. on 8 ar., i.e. 16 dr., to the 220 dr. in l. 73, the odd obol being omitted as e.g. in l. 72; and since the 53 dr. at the end of the line have been added not to 236 but to 220 to make the total of 273 in l. 75, the 53 must include that 16 as well as 16 from the 8 ar. ἀ(νά?) β (δραχμάς). 21 dr. are thus left to be accounted for by the

ἀμπελος, which, if the figure γ is right (see n. on l. 73), was accordingly subject to a secondary tax of 6 dr. per ar. A tax of 8 dr. per ar. on vine-land is well known (cf. P. Ryl. 216. 128, n.), but for a rate of 6 dr. the only analogy seems to be the ἐξάδραχος Φιλαδέλφου in P. Ryl. 213. 354, levied in the Mendesian nome.

84. (τετράβ.): (πεντάβ.) would have been exact.

86-7. These two lines appear to be irrelevant here and to belong to the section beginning at l. 94, where they are substantially repeated.

90. τμη: the foregoing figures add up to 348 dr. 2½ ob.

92. The total of 60 dr. 3 ob. ignores the 2 chalci in l. 90.

93. For the figure 295 cf. n. on ll. 5-7. That the difference between this total and that in the preceding line, if the 3 ob. are ignored, corresponds with the monthly rate stated in ll. 86 and 96 is a coincidence only.

97. The total 1362 omits the 4 ob. of l. 95, hence the difference as corrected, 113, is nearer to the truth than what was first written.

### (δ) PETITIONS.

#### 2130. APPLICATION TO THE BOARD OF GYMNASIARCHS.

23.3 × 10.8 cm.

A. D. 267.

The petitioner in this interesting document was a senator of Antinoë who had been nominated, in his view unjustly, to some liturgical office connected with the gymnasiarchy. Probably the ground of his objection was the immunity enjoyed by Antinoëte citizens from such service outside their own city (cf. 1119), but this is not expressly stated. An application made to the board (τάγμα) of gymnasiarchs for an appeal to the epistrategus having been refused, he had laid, for transmission to the praefect, a petition at the feet of the reigning emperor's statue in the local temple of the Caesars, a proceeding for which the papyri have already provided some evidence (see n. on ll. 18 sqq.), though the reason for its adoption has not been rightly understood. He now makes a second application to the same board for the issue of a legal opinion (δπεινώ) justifying the rejection of his notice of appeal. Since this demand is based on 'orders', it appears that when leave for an appeal was refused the would-be appellant had a right to claim a reasoned statement of the legal grounds of such refusal.

αχρηγ( ) β- (2nd h.?) δπεινώ.

3rd hand Τῷ τάγματι τῶν γυμνασιάρχων τῆς  
Ὁξύρυγγειτῶν πόλεως διὰ τοῦ διαδεχομέ-  
νου τῆν πρυτανείαν Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίω-

5 νος τοῦ καὶ Φιλοξένου γυμνα(σ)ιαρχήσαντος)  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Σερήνου  
γυμνα(σ)ιαρχήσαντος) πρυτανεύσαντος ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων βου(λευτοῦ)  
τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀντινοέων πόλεως καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω)  
διὰ Αὐρηλίου Γαιανοῦ πραγματευτοῦ. πρὸς ὁποι-  
10 αν δῆποτε γενομένην ἔκ τινος παρανομίας  
ἀναγνωσθέντος ἐν ὑμῖν ὡς ἔμαθον πι-  
τακίου τῇ διελθ(ούση) λ βουλῆς οὔσης ὀνομασίαν  
ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας μου διαφέρουσιν γυμνασιαρχί-  
ας ἀρχῇ παρ' αὐτὸ προσήγαγον ὑμῖν  
15 ἐκκλήτου βιβλία ἐπὶ τὸν κράτιστον  
ἐπιστράτηγον Αἴλιον Φαῦστον δουκη-  
νάριον, καὶ μὴ προσεθέντων τούτων  
ἀνεθέμην ἐν τῷ αὐτ[ό]θι Σεβαστείῳ  
πρὸς τοῖς θείοις ἴχρеси τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
20 Αὐτοκράτορος Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δια-  
πεμφθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ στατίζοντος  
τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Ἰουουενίου  
Γεναλίου αὐτῷ τε τῷ στατίζοντι τὰ ἴσα  
ἐπιδούς, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἀξιῶ κατὰ τὰ κεκε-  
25 λευσμένα ἐγδοθῆναι μοι τὴν ὀπι-  
νίωνα δηλοῦσαν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν  
οὐ προσήκασθε τὰ τῆς ἐκκλήτου βιβλία,  
ὅπως δυνηθῇ τὰ ἀκόλουθαπραχθῆναι.  
(ἔτους) ἰδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Που[π]λίου  
30 Δικιννίου Γαλλιανοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
Μεγίστου Περσικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς  
Εὐτυχ[οῦς] Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενώθ κ.  
Αὐρηλίου Σαρ[απίω]ν δι' ἐμοῦ  
Γαιανοῦ ἐπιδέδωκα.

19. ἴχρеси. 22-3. 1. Ἰουουενίῳ Γεναλίῳ. 23. ἴσα: σ rewritten. 32. κ corr.

2 sqq. 'To the board of gymnasiarchs of the city of Oxyrhynchus through the deputy-  
prytanis Aurelius Sarapion also called Philoxenus, ex-gymnasiarch, from Aur. Sarapion  
also called Serenus, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis, superintendent of the *stemma* and senator

of the illustrious city of Antinoë and however I am styled, through Aur. Gaianus, agent. In opposition to the nomination, in which my name was concerned, of whatever kind it might be, pertaining to the office of gymnasiarch, which was made by some illegality in a list read before you, as I learn, on the 30th ult. at a meeting of the senate, I immediately presented to you a petition of appeal to his excellency the epistrategus Aelius Faustus, *ducenarius*, and since it was not accepted I deposited it in the local Sebasteum at the divine feet of our lord the Emperor Gallienus Augustus to be forwarded by the resident officer to his highness the praefect Iuvenius Genealis, giving a copy also to the resident officer himself; and now too I beg that in accordance with orders the legal opinion be issued to me declaring the reason why you have not accepted the petition of appeal, in order that the consequent steps may be taken.' Date and signature.

1. The first four letters of this obscure docket (which is posterior to the petition) were written continuously without the pen being lifted. There is not much doubt about the two last of the four, and the fifth cannot be meant for  $\mu$ . Can  $\delta\chi\rho(\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega)\eta\gamma(\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ , sc. *δικαστηρίω* or *βήματι*, be meant? Cf. l. 22 and e.g. P. Amh. 82. 19. There is a considerable interval between this and the following  $\beta$ -, which is therefore not likely to stand for *βήματι*. The accompanying stroke is slightly curved upward: perhaps the  $\beta$  is merely a number. For  $\delta\pi\epsilon\iota\omega$ , which follows in lighter ink after another interval, cf. l. 25, n.

2. For the *τάγμα* of the gymnasiarchs cf. 1252. verso 24, n.

7. *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων*: cf. P. Ryl. 77. 31, n. where the evidence for this title, of which the meaning is still in doubt, is collected, and 1413. 4, n.

15. *ἐκκλήτου*: sc. *δίκης*. Cf. l. 27 below, 1408. 7, n., 2104.

16. Aelius Faustus is a new name for the list of epistrategi. This is the epistrategus who is referred to anonymously in C. P. Herm. 119 verso, no. 3. 5, and whose name perhaps stood in l. 25 there. *δοκηναρίον*, *ducenarium*, refers to the amount of his official income; cf. 1711. 4-5 and, on the use of such terms, which first appear as designations of rank under Marcus Aurelius, Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* v. 1752.

18 sqq. Cf. the analogous passage in C. P. R. 20. 11, 3 sqq. (A. D. 250) *ἐπιστάλμα δισσὸν γραφὴν . . . ἀποτίθεμαι ἐν τῷ ἐνταῦθα Σεβαστείῳ παρὰ τοῖς εἰσπραξίαι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου Αυτοκράτορος κτλ.*, and the comments of Blumenthal, *Archiv*, v, pp. 335-6, von Woess, *Asytlwesen*, pp. 200 sqq., 220-1. Blumenthal *loc. cit.* made the acute suggestion that a similar procedure was perhaps to be recognized in P. Amh. 80. 11-12, and this is now rendered much more probable by the parallelism with ll. 20-2 here. It is now pretty clear that something like *βιβλία ἀνεθέμην ἐν τῷ σεβ[ασ]μιωτάτῳ καὶ σεβ[ασ]τ[ρ]ῷ Ἀδ[ρι]ανεύῳ π[ρ]ο[φ]ησόμενα τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Μηνύῳ Ὀνωρατιανῷ ὑπὸ τῷ [ ] (l. τοῦ ?) στατιωνε[ ] ὄντος βενεφικ[ ]αρίου* stood in the Amherst text, and if, as seems quite likely, *ἦν πεποιήμαι αὐτοῖς ἐκκλητῶν* is to be restored in l. 8 (cf. 1204. 5 *ἐκκλητῶν πεποιήμαι*, P. Amh. 82. 9-10 *ἐκκλη[ ]των ποιείσθαι ἐδυνή[ ]θην*), a question of appeal is there too involved. Moreover, the subject of the dispute, as in 2130 and C. P. R. 20, was the imposition of a liturgy, as indicated by l. 5 *ἐξέστα[ ]μαι αὐτοῖς πασῆς μ[ ]οῦ τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης ὑπάρξεως*: cf. C. P. R. 20. 6 *ἐξιστατόμενος πάντων ὧν ἔχω τοῖς προβαλομένοις*, 1406. 24. Note must be taken of the fact that in 2130 the petitioner, unlike those of C. P. R. 20. and P. Amh. 80, was, for anything that appears to the contrary, in full possession of his liberty, and therefore the inference of Blumenthal, *loc. cit.*, that the resort to the Emperor's statue was occasioned by the appellant's imprisonment was incorrect. The *Σεβαστεῖον* may be the same as the *Καίσαρειον* mentioned in 1683. 19 and elsewhere.

21. *στατίζοντος*: sc. *βενεφικαρίου*, as in P. Amh. 80. 12 cited in the previous note. Cf. also 65. 1 *τοῦ στατίζοντος β(ενε)φ(ικαρίου)*, which should not be altered to *στατίζων(ί)ζοντος* in spite of P. Amh. 80; *στατίζειν* is a good Greek word.

22-3. Iuvenius Genealis was already known from C. P. R. 119 (14th year, Epeiph), P. Tebt. 326. 1.

25. *δπιώνια*, *opinionem*, is new in papyri; for the technical sense of a legal opinion cf. e.g. Gaius i. 7 *responsa prudentium sunt sententiae et opiniones eorum quibus permissum est iura condere*, Dig. xvi. 1. 32. 1 *vera est eorum opinio qui petitionem dandam ei putant*.

### 2131. ATTESTATION OF A COPY OF A PETITION WITH REPLY.

31.6 × 30.2 cm.

A. D. 207.

This document is of the same nature as B. G. U. 970 (M. 242), of which B. G. U. 525 is a mutilated duplicate, but is valuable as a much better preserved example of the type as well as for its own particular contents. It is an attested copy of a petition presented to the praefect and of his official subscription thereon, which had been publicly displayed (*προτεθείς, propositus*) at Antinoë (cf. n. on ll. 4-5). Its form is especially interesting. The copy to be certified (B), written across the fibres of the papyrus, was begun at a distance of about 12 cm. from the top of the sheet. In this blank space, added in a more cursive hand, is a second copy (A) practically identical with the one below except for the occasional use of abbreviation, and the omission at l. 19 of a reference number. On the verso of the lower (original) copy, at right angles to it and 2-3 cm. apart, are the signatures of six witnesses, who sealed it. The document thus presents a close parallel to the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*-deeds of the early Ptolemaic age; cf. P. Eleph. 1-4, Hibeh 96, Wilcken, *Archiv*, v, pp. 202 sqq. In the Roman period instances of attestation by six witnesses are not infrequent (cf. 489 sqq., B. G. U. 813. 10 *δάνεια ἐξαμάρτυρα*, &c.), but of the survival of the old practice of making two successive copies of the text 2131 seems to be the first example, though possibly another is now to be recognized in B. G. U. 525+970. Those two papyri are of approximately the same breadth, and the former is broken at the top, the latter at the bottom. So far, then, there is no reason why they should not have come from a single sheet of which 970 was the beginning and 525 the continuation. Moreover, 970 is stated to be in a very cursive hand and has numerous abbreviations, from which 525 is free,<sup>1</sup> which suits the hypothesis of their correspondence to 2131 A and B respectively. Perhaps an examination of the fibres of their versos might bring corroborative evidence.

The object of the duplication was, of course, to enable the attested inner copy to be sealed up while another was left available for reference. Since the seals

<sup>1</sup> The fact that at one point 970 shows the longer text (l. 5 *σὺν ἐτέροις*) is hardly material, since this may well be connected with the correction immediately following.

which were set on 2181 had entirely disappeared before its discovery, the precise manner in which the tying and sealing were here done is no longer ascertainable. There are evident signs that the sheet was folded, as would be expected, from the bottom; but it is no less clear that it was also folded from the top. The signatures of the six witnesses, starting from a point nearly opposite to the first line of B, proceed at right angles to the folds to a distance, in the case of the longer lines, of about 11 cm. Apparently therefore the aorist ἐσφράγισα is proleptic and the seals were actually added after the signatures had been written.

To turn now to the contents of the petition, the complainant, a citizen of Oxyrhynchus, states that, owing to a culpable mistake concerning his identity on the part of an ἀμφοδογραμματεύς or district scribe, he had been compelled to undertake a liturgy for which he was not liable and his means were inadequate, and asks for a hearing against the accused official. Under this stands the subscription of the praefect, directing that an inquiry into the justice of the allegations should be made by the epistrategus.

In the text following below, A, the better preserved of the two copies, is printed at length, and the variants of, and any important supplements derived from, B, of which the beginnings of lines are missing throughout, are given in the critical notes.

(Ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκρατόρ[ων] Κα[ί]σάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς  
Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβητικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου  
Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα  
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενώθ κθ. ἐμαρτύρατο ἑαυτὸν

Τοτοῆς χρηματίζ[ων] μητρὸς Τσενπεσίριος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχ[ων] πόλ[εως]  
διὰ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων ἐξεληφέναι καὶ προσαντιβεβληκέ-  
ναι ἐκ τεύχους συνκολλησίμων βιβλειδίων ἐπιδοθέντων Σουβατιανῶ  
Ἀκύλα τῶ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι προτεθέντων ἐν Ἀντι-

5 νίου πόλ[ει] ἐν τῶ Ἀντινοείῳ ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον βιβλεῖδιον  
σὺν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτὸ ὑπογραφῇ, ὅπερ οὕτως ἔχει· κολλημ[άτων] Ἀθ.

Σουβατιανῶ Ἀκύλα ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου π[α]ρὰ Τοτοῆος χρηματίζοντος μητρὸς  
Σενπεσειρί[ου] ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχων πόλ[εως].

τῆς ἐμφύτου σου, ἡγεμόν δέσποτα, δικαιοδοσίας δικούσης εἰς πάντας  
ἀνθρώπους καὶ αὐτὸς ἀδικηθεὶς ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύ-

7 [ω] ἀξιῶν ἐκδικίας τυχεῖν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτω[ς] ἐν] μητροπόλ[ει] τυγχάνων  
ἀναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Παρεμβολῆς αἰεὶ χρη-

ματίζων τῶ προ[σ]κειμένῳ ὀνοματίῳ, ᾧ συμφώνως ἀναδοθεὶς ἔτι ἄνωθεν  
εἰς φυλακίαν ταύτην ἀμέμπτως ἐξ[έ]τε-

10 λεσα, οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμενα ἐπικεφάλια τελῶ  
γεωργικὸν [κα]ὶ ἀπράγμονα βίον ζῶν, ἀνεδόθην οὐ δε-  
όντως ὑπὸ Ἡρακλάμμωνος τοῦ νυνὶ ἀμφοδογραμματέως πρώτης φυλῆς  
εἰς δημοσίαν ὀνηλασίαν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως

πάνυ βαρυτάτην χρεῖαν ἐτέρῳ ὀνοματίῳ Σβίχῳ Ἀρμίνσιος μητρὸς Τασεῦτος,  
σωματίσαντός μοι ἀνύπαρκτον πόρον

(δραχμῶν) Ἀσ. ὄθεν, κύριε, βία ἀναγκασθεὶς ταύτης τῆς ὀνηλασίας  
ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἄπορος παντελῶς ὑπάρχων μηδ' ὄλωσ ὑπο-

στέλλων τῶ [ν]υνὶ ἀμφοδογραμματεῖ ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦπιδόν τοῦ ἡμετέρου  
ἀμφοδου Ἰππέως Παρεμβολῆς μέλλοντος λει[το]ν[ρ]-

15 γεῖν ἀκολουθῶς τῶ γενομένῳ ὑπὸ Γαμεινίου Μοδέστ[ρι]ου τοῦ κρα[τίστου]  
ἐπιστρα[τήγου] τῶν ἀμφοδῶν κλήρω, [το]ῦ Ἡρακλάμμωνος  
ἀνόμως καὶ βίβηκινδύνας ἀναδόντος μ[ε,] ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν σο[ῦ] τῇ εὐμ[εν]-

στάτη τύχη δόξῃ, διακοῦσαί μου πρὸς αὐτόν, τῆς χ[α]ρ[ι]σ[τ]ῆ  
σῆ[ς] μεγαλειότητός ἐστιν ἐπεξελεθῆναι τοῖς [ἀδίκ]ως καὶ ἀνόμ[ω]ς τετολ-

μημένοις, ὅπως τυχῶν τῶν δικαίων δυνήθῃ εἰς  
ὑστ[ε]ρο[ν] τῶ ἐπιβάλλοντι ἔτι ἀντιλαβέ[σ]θαι τῆς ἐνχειρισθησομένης ὡς

πρόκειται, ἵν' ᾧ εὐεργετημέν[ος]. διευτύχει.

(ἔτους?) [ε . . .] μ[η]δ[ε]ν[ος] ἐπεχομ[έν]ου ὁ κρά[τιστος] ἐπιστρά[τηγος]  
εἴ[σε]ται [ὀποι]α . . . [ . . . ] ε . . . [ . . . ] ἡ ἀξιῶσις. πρόθετες.

On the verso, at right angles

20 3rd hand . . . λλευς . . . [ . ]ιος Φυαν[ . . ] . νησ[ . ] ἐσφράγισα.

4th " [ . ]α . [ . . ] . ς . ε . . . τρευσ[ . ] ἐσφ[ρ]άγισα.

5th " Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων ἐσφράγισα.

6th " . . . . α . . . ὅς Ἡρακλείδης ἐσφράγισα.

7th " Ἀζας [Ο]ῦλπιος Θεῶν ἐσφράγισα.

25 8th " Λούκι[ος] Οὐολύσιος Δομίτιος Σαλουιανὸς ἐσφράγισα.



3. χρηματιζων μητρος σεπτεσειρι[ιος] B. 4. λαμπροτατω B. 5. πολλ[ε] B. 6 of ος  
 corr. from τ. κ[α]λ[η]ματων χειλιω ν εννεα B. 6. παρα B. 8. μητροπολει B. 9. τ of  
 ετι corr. from ξ. φυλακειαν B. 10. επικεφαλαια B. 12. σβιχοις ερμιου B. 14. ι of  
 εις corr. l. Ιππέων (so B). 15. l. Γεμενίου. κρατιστου επιστρατηγου . . . τω ηρακλ. B.  
 17. αδικως . . . εις B. 18. υσ[τε]ρ[ο] B. τ of της corr. from σ. 19. [22 ll. μη]δενος  
 επεχομενου ο κρατιστος επιστρατηγος εισεται οποια [20 ll. κολλη]ματων χειλιων εννεα προθεσ B.

The 15th year of the Emperors and Caesars Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Phamenoth 29. Totoë's, styled as having Senpetsiris as his mother, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, has testified through the witnesses below written that he has extracted and collated one from the roll of conjoined petitions presented to his highness the praefect Subatianus Aquila and displayed at Antinoë in the temple of Antinoüs, including the petition below written, together with the subscription beneath it, as follows:—Number 1009. To Subatianus Aquila, praefect of Egypt, from Totoë's, styled as having Senpetsiris as his mother, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. Since your ingrained justice, my lord praefect, is extended to all men, I too, having been wronged, have recourse to you, begging for redress. The matter is on this wise. I happen to be registered in the metropolis in the Camp quarter and am always styled by the name above written, in accordance with which I was designated some time ago to the duty of guard, which I discharged blamelessly, and I have besides paid my annual personal dues, living a quiet cultivator's life. I have been wrongly designated by Heraclammon, the present district-scribe of the first tribe, for the post of public donkey-driver in the said city, a most onerous service, under another name, Sbichis son of Harmiusis and Taseus, and have had booked to me by him property to the value of 1200 drachmae which I do not possess; wherefore, my lord, as I have been compelled to take up this post of donkey-driver although I am entirely without means and am not at all subject to the present district-scribe, our quarter on the contrary having presently to serve in accordance with the lot drawn for the districts by his excellency the epistrategus Geminus Modestus, and have been lawlessly and recklessly designated by Heraclammon, I beg you, if it seem good to your most benign fortune, to hear me against him, for it appertains to your power to punish unjust and lawless deeds of daring, in order that I may obtain my rights and be able subsequently in the year that devolves upon me to take up the service with which I may be entrusted. Farewell. Fifteenth year, [day of month.] Without prejudice to anything, his excellency the epistrategus shall discover what [rights underlie] this petition. To be displayed.' Signatures of six witnesses.

3. Τσενπεσιριος: Σενπ. B, and so l. 6 below.

4-5. προτεθέντων . . . Αντινοείω: it is remarkable that although the petitioner lived at Oxyrhynchus, the official reply to his petition was promulgated among a large number of others at Antinoë, some fifty miles distant. The reply to B.G.U. 970 was published at Juliopolis, a suburb of Alexandria, where, we are told, the praefect was then holding his assize. Can it be inferred that on the present occasion an assize had been held at Antinoë? There has been no reason to suppose that that city was one of the regular assize centres (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, iv, pp. 366 sqq.), though it would be by no means surprising if Hadrian had conferred upon his foundation this privilege. But the praefects had the power of varying the routine, and evidence is not wanting of occasional assizes held elsewhere than at the normal centres; cf. Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, p. 399, P. Ryl. 74 int. With regard to the Αντινοείων here mentioned, a building in the ruins of Antinoë has been taken for the mausoleum of Antinoüs (Kuhn, *Antinoopolis*, p. 75), which may well have formed part of the temple dedicated to him.

κολλημ(άτων): B has the gen. plur. both here and at l. 19 (see critical n.), but the singular would be expected.

10. On the supposed difference between επικεφάλιον and -λαιον see 1438. 14, n.; but the spelling επικεφαλαια here in B supplies a warning against basing such distinctions on the orthography of scribes.

11. ἀμφοδογραμμάτωσ πρώτης φυλής well illustrates the coincidence of ἀμφοδον and φυλή. On δημοσια ἀνηλασία cf. Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 116 sqq.

12. ἀνύπαρκτον πόρον: ἀνύπαρκτος has previously occurred in the papyri only in P. Giessen, 7. 8, 17, where it is applied to land. The present passage clearly proves that Rostovtzeff was right in supposing the word to refer to an error in official books as against Wilcken, Kornemann, and Preisigke, who offer alternative explanations which are only applicable to γῆ: cf. P. Giessen, i, p. 25.

14. εις τοῦτιόν: so 83. 4.

15. That the order in which the ἀμφοδα discharged liturgical duties was determined, as formerly the choice as between persons, by lot cast through the epistrategus, does not seem to have been stated previously. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 353, notes the disappearance in the third century of the use of the lot in the allocation of liturgies: here, at least, is one example from the beginning of the century. Geminus Modestus was not previously known as an epistrategus. A *vir praetorius* of that name is mentioned in C. I. L. viii. 7054, an undated dedicatory inscription at Cirta. A Modestus was *idiologus* in A.D. 184 (P. S. I. 928. 8).

18. ἐνχειρισθησομένης: sc. χρείας or λειτουργίας. There is a considerable lacuna at this point in B, but the space indicates that there too the substantive was omitted.

19. The remains of most of this line are very slight and letters can only be doubtfully identified even with the aid of B. Something like ὅποια δίκαια ἔχει ἡ ἀξίωσις is required, but ἔχει is not to be read in that position; palaeographically, ἐστίν would be suitable.

20. The papyrus is damaged above this line, but as six names are preserved nothing is likely to be lost except, perhaps, the heading μάρτυρες.

## 2132. PETITION TO THE PRAEFECT.

9.2 x 7 cm.

About A.D. 250.

Owing to the loss of the latter parts of the lines, which were not short (cf. ll. 10-11), the purport of the following copy of a petition to Appius Sabinus, a praefect known to have been in office in the middle of the year 250, is not very clear. The applicant wished to be allowed to take some action with regard to his native place and, apparently, a festival in honour of Antinoüs. Of the praefect's subscription enough is preserved to indicate that permission was granted so long as the interests of the Treasury and the Roman state were safe-guarded. If what was desired was leave of absence from Egypt in order to attend the festival, a closer parallelism with 1271, which is an application of A.D. 246 for a permit to quit the country via Pharos, would be expected. A more likely view seems to be that the applicant's intention was to make some benefaction for the purposes of the festival. Little is known concerning restric-

tions on pious founders and benefactors, but some sort of official regulation is presumable on more grounds than mere *a priori* probability; cf. Mitteis, *Röm. Privatrecht*, p. 384. The proviso here entered by the praefect would indicate the primary reason for official scrutiny in such matters.

The copy of the application and the official reply is preceded and followed at short intervals by further writing and was therefore an enclosure in another document, but the remains are not sufficient to show its character. On the verso are beginnings of a few lines of an account relating to land.

λαν σο . . . . . [.] . . . [

Ἀππίω Σαβείνω τῷ κρ[ατίστω] ἡγεμόνι

παρ' Αὐρηλίου Διδ[

ξιῶ, κύριέ μου, κ[

5 τάτη μου πατρίδι [

δης ὁ ξυστάρχης κ[

τοῦ ἡμετέρου απα[

τῶν μεγάλων Ἀντι[οείων] ?

ἢ ὑπο[γραφή]

10 εἰ μήτε πρὸς ταμείον χ[ρῆστος] ἐστὶ μήτε

μαίων δημόσιον

ἀ-

τῆ . . . .

Ῥω- ?

2nd hand [τ]ῷ κυρίῳ Α . [

[. . .]πῆ . [

9. υ above αν, which is crossed through, and πο converted from τι (?), i.e. αντιγραφον was originally written. 12. The letter after α corr.

4-5. Perhaps φιλ[τάτη], or very likely λαμπροτάτη, if Oxyrhynchus is meant.

6. ξυστάρχης: cf. e.g. 1643. 3, n. Possibly κ[αὶ ἐπὶ βαλανείων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] followed, as in the Brit. Mus. text there cited, C. I. G. 5908, &c.

8. Games in honour of Antinoüs were instituted at many places, and were known to have survived to the middle of the third century at least from C. I. A. iii. 1202. μεγάλα Ἀντινόεια at Mantinea are mentioned by Pausan. viii. 9. 4. For Egypt cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 592.

10-11. Something like μήτε ἄλλως τὸ τῶν Ῥ. δημόσιον βλάπτεται seems to be required.

## 2133. PETITION TO THE PRAEFECT.

24.4 × 25.1 cm.

Late third century.

A petition addressed to a praefect of doubtful identity (cf. n. on l. 1), whose period of office, to judge from the handwriting, is to be placed about the time of Diocletian. The petitioner was a woman and her complaint, a badly written production, is of a familiar kind: she accuses her paternal uncle of having defrauded her and her brothers of property left by their intestate father, of which the uncle had undertaken the management during their minority.

Α . . . φ . . . φ [ ] τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐ[πάρχῳ] Αἰγύπτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἡούτος Ἡρακλείδου μητρὸς [ ἀπὸ κώμης

το(ῦ) Ὁξυρυγχίτου νομοῦ. δέησιν δικαιοτάτην τῆ 18 letters

σου ἐπιεικία, δέσποτα ἡγεμόν, προσφέρου[σα . . .] . . . [ . . . . .

? δέομαι

5 τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σ[ο]ῦ μεγαλείου ἐ[νερ]γεσίας καὶ α . . . . . [.]χ[ . . . . .

ἀδικου-

μένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐκ ἂν εἶποι[μ]ε θείου πρὸς πατρός [ . . . . . ] . θεμ .

παρατιθεμένη, εἰς τὸ τῶν δι[κ]αίων τυχεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς κα[λοκα]γα-

θείας. ὁ προ-

ειρημένος μου τοίνυν πατή[ρ] Ἡ[ρακλείδης] ἔτι μου (κατ)αδεοῦς [ο]ῦσης

τὴν ἡλι-

κίαν τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν . [ἀ]διάθετος, δηλαδὴ ἐπὶ τε ἐμοὶ [κα]ὶ

ἐτέροις μου

10 ἀδελφοῖς τρισὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους κληρονόμοις ἐξ εἴσου μέρους. ὁ δὲ

τούτου

οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι ἀδελφὸς ἐμοῦ δὲ κατὰ πατέρα θεῖος Ἀοῖσεις τούνομα

ὡς εἰς τὸ

διοικῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου καταλειφθέντα καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι

ἐμοὶ τε καὶ

τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου εἰς ἐπιτροπίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπέθετο πρὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενομέ-

νοις μετὰ πάσης πίστεως ἀποκατασ[η][τήσ]ειν τὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐν

ᾧρα οὖν

15 τοίνυν γενομένη γάμου ἐξεδόθην [ . . ]ωνι δεκαδάρχη, μηδὲν μοι κα-

θ' ὀνδήποτ' οὖν τρόπον εἰς λόγον προ[ι]κὸς ἐπιδεδωκὸς οὐδὲ σχεδὸν

εἰπὶν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἂν πε. [.]οι. ias γενομένης ἀποκαταστή-  
σαί μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου καὶ  
προειρημέ-  
νου {μου} πατρός. ἤδη οὖν παίδων δύο ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἀνδρὸς  
γεγένηται

20 τοῦ θείου μου Ἀοίσιος μηδ[ἐν τὸ κ]αθ' ὄλον ἐπιδεδωκότος ἀναγκαίων πλει-  
στάκις μου δικαιολογουμένης {μου} πρὸς τοῦτον τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως  
ἔνεκεν

τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός μοι μέρους [κ]ληρονομίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός, ὃς δὲ  
ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ὕβρις οὐ τὰς τυχούσας προσετρίψατό μοι βουλόμενος  
στερέ-

σε με, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους τῆ ἡλικία ἀδελφούς  
μου. ὅθεν ἀναγκαίως

25 καταλαμβάνω τοὺς σοὺς τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυρίου πόδας διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς  
ἀξιώσεως καὶ δε-

ομένη κελευσέσαι δι' εὐτωνιάτης σου ὑπογραφῆς δι' οὗ ἐὰν τὸ  
μεγαλεῖόν σου δοκιμάσῃ

τοῦτον ἐπαναγκασθῆναι ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰ τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ προ-  
ειρημένου μου πατρός,

ἵν' ὃ εὐεργετημένη καὶ εἰς αἰεί σοι διὰ παντὸς χάριτας ὁμολογῶν  
διευτύχει.

2nd hand Αὐρηλία Ἥως ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος Διογένης ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
φαμένης μὴ εἰδέναι

30 γράμματα.

6. ὑπο: so ll. 7, 12. 16. l. ἐπιδεδωκότος, sc. Ἀοίσιος: cf. l. 20. 19. Second η of  
ἡδη corr. from ρ. l. παῖδες . . . γεγένηται. 20. ἀναγκαιών: so l. 24. 23. ὕβρις. l. στερέσαι.  
24. ὑποδεεστερους. 25. β of καταλαμβάνω corr. from ν. 26. l. κελεύσαι σε. ὑπογραφῆς.  
27. ἐπαναγκ. 28. ἵν.

'To his excellency . . . , praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Eus daughter of Heraclides  
and . . . , of the village of . . . in the Oxyrhynchite nome. In presenting to your clemency,  
my lord praefect, a most just application I require a benevolence from your highness; I am  
wronged by a man whom I can hardly call my paternal uncle [and . . .] refer to you in  
order that I may obtain my rights from your nobleness. Now my aforesaid father Hera-  
clides died intestate while I was still under age, so that of course I and my three brothers  
were legally his heirs in equal shares. The man whom I can hardly call his brother and my  
paternal uncle, Aoisis by name, with the ostensible purpose of managing what was left by  
my father and restoring it to me and my brothers, had himself made our guardian, proposing

to return to us with all good faith our father's property when we came of age. Now on be-  
coming ripe for marriage I was wedded to . . . on, decadarch, but my uncle gave me nothing  
whatever by way of dowry, hardly even my dress, as he would have done if he had had any  
intention (?) of restoring to me the share falling to me of the inheritance of our aforesaid  
father. Two children have now been born to me and my husband, yet my uncle Aoisis has  
given us no necessaries whatever, although I have several times taken legal proceedings  
against him about the restoration of the share falling to me of our father's inheritance, but  
on the contrary he has subjected me to insults of no ordinary kind, wishing to defraud me,  
and not me only but also my younger brothers. I am therefore obliged to have recourse  
to the feet of my lord through this my petition, begging you to command by your most  
stringent subscription that this man should be compelled, through whomsoever your highness  
may approve, to restore what belongs to the inheritance of my aforesaid father, that so I may  
obtain redress and evermore acknowledge my gratitude to you. Farewell. (Signed)  
Presented by me, Aurelia Eus. I, Aurelius Diogenes, wrote for her, as she professed to be  
illiterate.'

1. The addressee is just possibly Aelius Publius, who was praefect in A. D. 299 (1204.  
8; cf. 1416. 29, n.); but though the vestiges are adaptable to his names without difficulty  
as far as β, the space between that letter and ω would be narrow for λι and some trace of  
those letters, if they had stood there, would be expected. The letter before ω, if not β, may  
be κ or ν.

2. Ἡῶτος: in the signature in l. 29 the spelling is Ἡῶς. Both forms are found else-  
where.

6. The final letter of the line was probably either α or ε. Perhaps there was a partial  
dittography of παρατιθεμένη: τ'ἔθεμε (for -μαι) παρατιθ. would be a very awkward collocation.

8. For (κατ)αδεοῦς cf. 54. 2, P. Tebt. 326. 2.

14. ἀποκαταστήσειν was evidently intended (cf. l. 17, &c.), but the remains of the letter  
after σ are irreconcilable with τ, so that some misspelling must be assumed.

17. δ, ρ, or σ would be suitable for the letter after πε, and ε, σ, or σε between ]οι and  
ias. Another misspelling may be suspected.

19. παίδων . . . γεγένηται: the anacoluthon is best mended by correcting to παῖδες . . .  
γεγένηται.

## 2134. REGISTRATION OF A DEED OF MORTGAGE.

30 X 24 cm.

About A. D. 170.

This document belongs to what is now a well-known type, of which, however,  
it is an interesting and well-preserved specimen. It is an application by a creditor  
to the archidicastes for the registration at the two record offices of Alexandria  
(i. e. the library of Hadrian and the Nanaeum) of a contract of loan made on the  
security of some land and for the notification of such registration to the debtor,  
which was effected in the usual way through the strategus. Cf. 719, 1473-4, &c.  
The upright semicursive script is the same throughout, so that what is here  
preserved is obviously a copy, which may have been taken from the original  
some years later. On the verso, added in a small very cursive hand, though  
possibly by the same writer, is a short and narrow column of partially effaced

notes relating to the persons concerned in the contract. They begin 'Η 'Ελένη ἐτελ(εὔτησεν) ἐπὶ τέκνοισ β, <sup>2</sup> τῷ τε Διοδώ(ρω) τῷ (corr. from και) και Λογγί(νψ) <sup>3</sup> και Διδύμη τῇ κ(αί) Θαρηῆτι <sup>4</sup> μητρὶ Λογγείνου, <sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ διαθήκ(η) ἐξ ἴσου: the 26th year (i. e. of Commodus, A. D. 185-6) is mentioned.

[. . . . . βασιλ(ικῶ) γραμματεῖ] διαδεχομένῳ και τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
στρα(τηγίαν)  
[παρὰ Σπαρτᾶ Πausανίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Διδύμης ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων  
πόλεως. οὐ ἐκόμισα ἐκ καταλογείου  
[χρηματισμοῦ ἐστὶν ἀντίγραφον· Εἰρηναῖος ὁ ἱερεὺς και ἀρχιδικαστῆς 'Οξυρυγ-  
χείτου στρα(τηγῶ) χαίρειν. τοῦ δεδομέ-  
[νου ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον] μεταδοθήτω ὡς ὑπόκειται. ἔρρωσω. (2nd h.)  
(ἔτους) ι (1st h.) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
5 [κυρίου . . . . .]ος Κ[ορ]νηλιανὸς σεσημ(είωμαι) (δραχμὰς) ε.  
Εἰρηναῖος Εἰρηναίου νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ἱερεὺς  
[και ἀρχιδικαστῆς και πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν και ἄλλων  
κριτηρίων παρὰ Σπαρτᾶ Πausανίου τοῦ Σαραπίω-  
[νος μητ]ρὸς Διδύμης ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως· προειμένου μοι δισσοῦ  
χειρογράφου οὐ τοῖς μετὰ τὸν χρόνον γράμμα-  
[σιν ἀντί]γραφον [ὑπό]κειται.] 'Ελένη ἀφήλικος τοῦ Ψουσαῦτος μητρὸς Εὐδαι-  
μονίδος μετὰ κυρίου και ἐγγύου εἰς  
[ἔκτει]σιν πάντ[ων] τῶν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱοῦ Διοδώρου  
τοῦ και Λογγείνου Ἀμύτιος  
10 [τοῦ Διοδώρου τῶν ἀπὸ Χύσεως Σπαρτᾶ Πausανίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς  
Διδύμης τῶν ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλ(εως) χαίρειν. ὁμολο-  
[γῶ] ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς χιλείας ὀκτακοσίας  
κεφαλαίου ος οὐδὲ(ν) τῷ καθό-  
λου προσῆκτ[αι] τόκου τρια[β]ολείου ἐκάστης μῶς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀπὸ  
τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Μεχειρ ἐπὶ μῆνα  
Ἀ[θῶρ? ἐπ]ιόντ[ος] ιβ' (ἔτους) συναγομένων δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα  
ἐννέα, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κεφαλαίου και τό-  
κων ἀ[ργυ]ρίου δραχμὰς χιλείας ἐνακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα ἐννέα, ἐπὶ ὑποθήκης  
κατοικικῆς σιτοφόρου σπορίμου  
15 (2nd h.) πλήρης (1st h.) ἐξ [ὀ]ρθ[ο]γωνίου ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
χουσῶν μοι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Χύσιν ἐν Ἐρμπολείτῃ γῆς

ἐν ἀφέσει ἐκ τοῦ Πausανίου κλήρου ἀρουρῶν πέντε οὐσῶν ἐν κοιναῖς και  
ἀδιδαι[ρ]έτοις ὄλαις ἀρούραις εἴκοσι  
π[ρ]ὸς Χεσφίβιν Πετοσε[ί]ριος και ἄλλους, ὧν ὄλων γείτονες νότου γῆς,  
βορρᾶ κληρονόμων Σατο[ρ]νείλου  
κ[α]ὶ ἄλλων, ἀπληρώτου ὄριον κλήρων, λιβὸς τῶν αὐτῶν κληρονόμων Σα-  
τορνεῖλου, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργυρίου  
[δρα]χμὰς χιλείας ἐνακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα ἐννέα ἀποδώσω σοι ἢ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ  
τριακάδι Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐπιόντος  
20 [ιβ' (ἔτους)] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τ[ο]ῦ κυρίου Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
Μεγίστου ἀνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσ[ε]ως,  
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [ἀπο]δῶ καθ' ἃ γέ[γ]ραπται, κυριεύσεις ἀντὶ τούτων τῶν προ-  
κειμένων ἀρουρῶν και ἐξέσται σοι  
χ[ρ]ᾶσθαι και οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρῆ τὸν τρόπον, και ἐπάναγκον  
παρέξομαι ταύτας βεβαίας διὰ  
παντὸς ἀπὸ [π]άντων πάση βεβαιώσει καθαρὰς δὲ και ἀπὸ γεωργίας βασι-  
λικῆς και οὐσιακῆς σῆς και [ο]ὔτινος-  
[οῦν] ἄλλου ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ νῦν, (και) ὁπόταν βούλη ἐξείναι σοι τῆς ὑποθήκης  
κατοχὴν ποιήσασθαι και τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρου-  
25 ρ[ῶ]ν κατοχὴν ποι[η]εῖσθ[αι] διὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐνκτῆσεων τοῦ Ἐρμπολείτου  
βιβλιοφυλακίου μὴ προσδεθῆντι  
παρουσίας [μ]οῦ μηδὲ συνεπιγραφῆς. ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων παρασυνογραφῶ,  
ἄκυρον ἔστω και προσαποτείσω κα-  
θ' ὃ ἐὰν παρασυνογραφῶ εἶδος τό τε βλάβος και ἐπίτειμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς  
ἐξακοσίας και εἰς τὸ δημό-  
σιον τὰς ἴσας, χωρὶς τοῦ μένειν κύρια τὰ προγεγραμμένα, και μηθὲν ἦσσον  
κύρια ἢ ὑποθήκη και  
δισσὴ γραφ[ε]ῖσ[α] σοιτυπος χωρὶς ἀλύφαδος και ἐπιγραφῆς ιδιόγραφός μου  
τοῦ Διοδώρου τοῦ και Λογγείνου.  
30 (ἔτους) ι Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρ[ος] Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ  
Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου,  
Μεχειρ κδ. 'Ελένη ἀφήλικος ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ Σπαρτᾶ τὰς δραχμὰς χιλείας  
ὀκτακοσίας τόκου τριοβολείων συν-  
αγ[ο]μένων δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ τῶν ἀρουρῶν  
τεσσάρων και ἀποδώσω τὸ

κ[εφάλαιο]ν σὺν τοῖς συναγομένοις τόκοις τριακάδι Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐπιόντος (ιβ)  
 ἔτους, εἰ δὲ μή, κυριεύσεις τῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἀρ[ιουρῶν] καὶ βεβαιώσω<sup>3</sup> ὡς πρόκειται. Διδώρος ὁ καὶ Λογγεῖνος Ἀμύτιος  
 ἐπιγέγραμμαι τῆς μητρὸς κύριος  
 35 κ[αὶ] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυ(ί)ης γράμματα καὶ ἐγγυῶμαι εἰς ἔκτεισιν  
 τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην, χρόνος ὁ αὐτός.  
 [τοῦτο δὲ βουλ]όμενος ἐν [τ]ῷ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα λόγῳ ἐν δημοσίῳ γενέσθαι  
 ἀξιῶ ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ  
 [διαπεσταλμέ]νου ὑ[π]’ ἐμοῦ . . . ο]ν τοῦ Ἀπολλ[ωνίου] ἢ ὑπογε]γραμμέ]νον ὑπ’  
 αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ εἶν[αι] αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς μετὰ  
 τ[ὸν] χρόνον γ[ράμμα]σιν ἰδ[ι]ογ[ρά]φου τοῦ Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Λογγεῖν[ο]ν,  
 ἔ[χον] καὶ ἐξ ὀνό[μα]τός μου ὑ[π]ογραφή[ν]  
 π[ερὶ] τῆς παρα]θέσεως αὐτοῦ, συγκαταχωρίσαι τῷδε τῷ ὑπομνήματι εἰς  
 ἀμφοτέρας τὰς βιβλιοθήκας  
 40 [καὶ ἀντίγρα]φον μεταδοῦναι τῇ μὲν Ἑλένη καὶ τῷ Διοδώρῳ τοῦ καὶ  
 Λογγεῖνου διὰ τοῦ τοῦ Ὁξυργχείου  
 [ὅπως εἰδῶσι] τὴν δημ[ο]σίωσιν καὶ μένη μοι [τ]ὰ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς δίκαια ὡς ἀπὸ  
 δημοσίου χρηματισμοῦ. ὡς καθή-  
 [κει. (ἔτους) ι] Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντων[ί]νου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Παῦνι κ. σεση-  
 μείωμαι Παῦνι κ. τούτου ὄντος ἀξιῶ τὴν μετάδοσιν  
 [γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑ]λένῃ [καὶ τ]ῷ Διοδώρῳ τῷ καὶ Λογγεῖν[ο]ν. ὡς καθήκει.  
 (ἔτους) ια Αὐ[τ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 [Ἀντωνίου Σε]β[ασ]τοῦ Ἀρμενιakoῦ Μηδικoῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου, Ἄδρ ια.  
 Διδώρος ὁ καὶ Λογγεῖνος ἔσχον τούτου  
 45 [τὸ ἴσον . . . . .]. Ἑλένη (ἀ)φήλικος ἔσχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον.  
 Ψοσναῦς Ἀλεξᾶτος ἐπιγέγραμ(μαι) αὐτῆς  
 [κύριος . . . . .]ς ὡς ἐκελεύσθη διὰ τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ)  
 Πραυλοῦ ἀκολούθ(ως) τῷ γεγονότι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ  
 [Χρηματισμῷ (?) καὶ ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ[ρ] αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδυ(ί)ης γράμματα μη(νὸς)  
 Ἄδρ(ιανοῦ) ιζ. Ἀπολλ(ώνιος) ὑπηρέτ(ης) μετέδωκ(α) τοῖς  
 [προγεγραμ(μένους) ἐνώπιον ὡς κ]αθή(κει), χρόνος ὁ αὐτός.

3. ἱερεὺς: 80 l. 5. 4. ὑποκειται. 1. ἔρρωσα. 5. 1. Εἰρηναῖο . . . , νεωκόρῳ . . . ἱερεῖ  
 [καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆ]. 7. 1. σὺν τοῖς; cf. l. 37. 11. 1. αἰς for os. 15. σ of χυσιω corr.  
 from ρ. 17. εἰ of γειτονοε corr. 23. Second και written over an expunction. 1. γῆς  
 for σῆς. 25. αἰ of ποιησιθ[α] corr. from σα? 28. ἴσας. 29. 1. ἰσόντιος . . .

ἀλείφατος. ἰδιογραφος. 31. Second κ of οκτακοσίας corr. from σ. 1. τριωβολείου. 38. 1.  
 [ἰδ]ιόγ[ρά]φον. 40. 1. τῷ καὶ Λογγεῖν[ο]ν. 41. 7 of τῆν corr. from φ. 45. ἴσον.  
 47. ἴδης.

‘To . . . , basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, from Spartas son of Pausanias son of Sarapion, his mother being Didyme, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. A copy follows of the communication which I have obtained from the bureau.

Eirenaeus, priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Let a copy of the application which has been presented be served, as below. Goodbye. The 10th year of Aur. Antoninus Caesar the lord, . . . I, . . . Cornelianus, have signed for 5 drachmae.

To Eirenaeus son of Eirenaeus, neocorus of the great god Sarapis, priest, archidicastes and superintendent of the chrematistae and other tribunals, from Spartas son of Pausanias son of Sarapion, his mother being Didyme, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. A copy follows of the bond issued to me in duplicate together with the subsequent documents: Helene, minor, daughter of Psosnaus and Eudaemonis, with her guardian and surety for payment of all that is secured under this mortgage, her son Diodorus also called Longinus, son of Amois son of Diodorus, an inhabitant of Chusis, to Spartas son of Pausanias son of Sarapion, his mother being Didyme, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you the capital sum of eighteen hundred silver drachmae of the Imperial coinage, to which nothing at all has been added, with interest at the rate of three obols per mina per month from the present month Mecheir to the month Hathur of the coming (?) 12th year or one hundred and eighty-nine drachmae altogether, making a total of capital and interest of one thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine silver drachmae, on the security of four arurae in full, of rectangular shape, of catoecic corn-bearing arable land from the five arurae of concessional land in the holding of Pausanias belonging to me near the said Chusis in the Hermopolite nome and forming part of a total of twenty arurae held jointly and indivisibly with Chesphibis son of Petosiris and others, the areas adjacent to all which are on the south a field, on the north the property of the heirs of Saturnilus and others, on the east the boundary of the holdings, on the west the property of the said heirs of Saturnilus; and the total sum of one thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine silver drachmae I will repay to you or your agents on the 30th of Phaophi of the coming 12th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, with no delay, and if I do not repay as stated, you shall instead thereof have the ownership of the aforesaid arurae, and it shall be lawful for you to make use of and dispose of them in whatever way you choose, and I will perforce guarantee them completely against all claims with every guarantee, free from liability to cultivate royal or domain land and every other obligation henceforth, and whenever you please it is lawful for you to make your claim to the mortgage and to the said arurae through the property record-office of the Hermopolite nome without requiring my presence or concurrence. If I violate any of these provisions, it shall be invalid and I will in addition forfeit in respect of any kind of violation the damage and to the Treasury an equal sum, with no disturbance to their validity, and the mortgage, which is done in duplicate in identical terms without erasure or insertion by the hand of me, Diodorus also called Longinus, shall none the less remain valid. The 10th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, Mecheir 24. I, Helene, minor, have received from you, Spartas, the eighteen hundred drachmae with interest at the rate of three obols amounting to one hundred and eighty-nine drachmae on the security of the four arurae, and I will repay the capital with the total interest on the 30th of Phaophi of the coming (12th) year, or else you shall have the ownership of the said arurae, and I will guarantee them as aforesaid. I, Diodorus also called Longinus, son of Amois, have been appointed as

my mother's guardian and wrote for her, as she is illiterate, and am surety for the payment of what is secured under the mortgage, the same date.—Wishing that this should be placed on public record against the writer of the contract I beg you, on receiving it from the agent dispatched by me, . . . son of Apollonius, with his subscription declaring that it together with the subsequent documents is the autograph of Diodorus son of Longinus, it having also a subscription in my name concerning its registration, to register it along with this application at both libraries and to serve a copy on Helene and Diodorus also called Longinus through the (strategus) of the Oxyrhynchite nome, in order that they may be aware of the publication and my rights derived from it may be upheld just as by a public instrument.

Let the proper steps be taken. The 10th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 20. Signed, Pauni 20.

This being so, I beg that service should be made upon Helene and Diodorus.

Let the proper steps be taken. The 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, Hathur 11.

I, Diodorus son of Longinus have received a copy of this, the . . . day of . . . I, Helene, minor, have received a copy of this. I Psosnaus son of Alexas have been appointed her guardian . . . as ordered by the strategus of the nome in accordance with the official response made by him, and wrote for her, as she is illiterate, the 17th of the month Hadrianus. I, Apollonius, assistant, served the document on the persons aforesaid in their presence, the same date.

5. σεσημ(είωμαι) (δραχμάς) ε: cf. B. G. U. 578. 8 (M. 227) and 1475. 6, n.

7. (σύ)ν τοῖς . . . γράμμασιν: cf. ll. 37-8, B. G. U. 578. 10, 18. What these subsequent γράμματα were is not clear.

8. ἀφήλικος: the only other example of this form, which recurs in ll. 31 and 45, seems to be P. Cairo Masp. 67006. 2 ἀφηλικούς υἱούς. It is remarkable that though still a minor Helene had a son old enough to be her κύριος and to sign on her behalf (l. 35). She must therefore have been married very young, even if her minority be supposed to have lasted to the end of her 25th year. In l. 45 the first letter of ἀφήλικος was omitted, but it is hardly credible that that is really correct and that Φήλικος is to be read throughout, in spite of the article before Ψοσναῦτος in l. 8.

13. Interest at 3 obols a month on 18 minae would produce 189 drachmae in 21 months. Reckoned from and including Mecheir of the 10th year, the 21st month would be Phaophi of the 12th year, and therefore it is probable that ιβ should be inserted before ἔτους in l. 33, where it is stated that repayment was due on the last day of Phaophi. In the present line, however, the first letter was not φ, but Ἄ[θέρ is possible implying, if right, a non-inclusive reckoning so far as that month is concerned. For ἐπ[ι]όντο[ς] cf. ll. 19 and 33, but the reading is very doubtful and τοῦ ἐπ. is expected; perhaps it is ] . . . τοῦ 13.

15. It is not certain that anything stood after Ἐρμοπολείτη: the papyrus is discoloured and the apparent vestiges may be deceptive. On the position of Chusis cf. 1637. 20, n.

16. This seems to be the first mention of γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει in a papyrus of the Roman period, though the survival of such a category was suggested by the term ἐναφεσίσιος. Whether γῆ ἐναφεσίσιος (918. xiii. 9, P. Tebt. 325. 5, n.) is to be identified with γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει, as assumed by Preisigke, *Fachwörter* and *Wörterbuch*, is very questionable.

24-5. Cf. e.g. 506. 49 κατοχὴν [ἀντῶν . . . ]χίσα[σθ]αι πρὸ τοῦ τῶν ἐκκτήσεων βιβλιοφυλακίου, 713. 34-7 ἀπογράφου . . . πρὸς παράθεσιν κατοχὴν . . . ἀρουρῶν. The rather tautologous combination ὑπαθήκης κατοχή is apparently novel.

25-6. μὴ . . . συνεπιγραφῆς: cf. 273. 22-4 and n.

29. σοιτυπος is evidently a misspelling of ἰσότυπος, of which the two instances in Preisigke's

*Wörterbuch* are both of the sixth century (P. Brit. Mus. 113. 1. 65 (i, p. 202) δι[σση] ἰσότ., Cairo, Masp. 67032. 79).

33. See l. 13, n.

36. For [τοῦτο δὲ βουλ]όμενος cf. e.g. 1473. 37. τοῦτο rather than ἐγὼ should probably be restored in B. G. U. 717. 26. ἐν . . . λόγῳ seems to be new in this context.

37. For [διαπεσταλμέ]νου cf. e.g. 1200. 46. It may be suggested that in B. G. U. 578. 18 (M. 227) [ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ] παρ' ἐμοῦ [ὑπογε]γραμ[μένον] (?) περὶ τοῦ κτλ. is a more likely reading than that adopted by Mitteis.

38-9. ἰδ[ι]ογ[ρά]φου for -όγ[ρα]φου though not easily recognizable is practically assured by the parallel passages, especially B. G. U. 578. 18, where the wording is identical except that ἰδιόγρ(αφου) precedes σὺν τοῖς κτλ. For ἔχον . . . παραθέσεως cf. B. G. U. 717. 29, where the editor gave ἔχον (sic) ἐξ [ὀ]νόματος τῆς μητρὸς μου ὑπογραφῆν . . . . . [ . . . ]ε[σ]ε[ι]. Professor Schubart has been good enough to verify my conjecture that περὶ τῆς παραθέσεως followed ὑπογραφῆν and considers that περὶ τῆς παρ[α]θέσεως is a possible reading of the remains. ἔχον of course requires no (sic). On παράθεσις cf. 713. 1, n.

41-3. The first ὡς καθήκει was the endorsement made in the office of the archidicastes, σεσημ(είωμαι) being the signature of that official himself; cf. 1473. 42, n., Meyer, *Griech. Texte*, pp. 39-40. ὡς καθήκει in l. 43 proceeded from the office of the strategus. A full stop should similarly have been placed in front of [ὡς καθήκει in 1473. 44.

45-6. Cf. 485. 45-7, where [δ]ι[α] rather than [ὑ]πὸ is to be read before τ[οῦ] στρατηγῶ. What followed κύριος in l. 46 of that text remains uncertain. The ε after αν is very doubtful, and ἀντ[ι], which seems quite possible, would suit the context in so far as there, as here, a new guardian had been appointed. But the shortness of the space is a difficulty, since on the analogy of the present passage ὡς ἐκελεύσθη would be expected at the end of the line, and this would leave very little room even if ἐκελ(εύσθη) was written. In l. 46 here, the letter before ὡς was apparently not υ, otherwise ἀντι τοῦ Δογγείνου would be attractive. Since the name Ψοσναῦτος has not occurred at Oxyrhynchus outside this papyrus, it seems likely that the new guardian was Helene's father (l. 8). Πραιύλου seems a curious name, if correctly written. Was it perhaps a mistake for Παύλου?

## (c) CONTRACTS.

### 2135. AGREEMENT OF INDEMNITY.

22.9 X 14.8 cm.

A.D. 188.

The lower portion of this document is a short acknowledgement addressed by two brothers to an ex-gymnasiarch with whom they had been associated in some business connected with the municipal accounts, declaring that a debt owing from them to him remained nevertheless unimpaired. This is dated Hathur 18 in the 29th year of Commodus. Above in a different hand is a similar acknowledgement, dated Pharmouthi 21 in the 28th year and addressed to the same individual, by a man whose name is lost, on behalf of himself and his brother. It is a natural assumption that these brothers were

identical with the pair named below, and accordingly that the acknowledgement was renewed after an interval of seven months. Why such an agreement was considered necessary or desirable is not clear.

[. . . . Σαραπ]ίωνι [τ]ῷ καὶ Ἀπολλ[ω]ν[ι]ανῶ  
 γυμνασιάρχῃσα[ν]τι τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
 χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ καὶ συνεκρημάτισά σοι ἐν  
 τοῖς τῆς πόλεως λόγοις ὁμολογῶ κατὰ μη-

5 δέν σε ἐλαττοῦσθαι περὶ ὧν ὀφείλομέν  
 σοι ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου. ἔτους  
 ὀγδῶν καὶ εἰκοστού Ἀύρηλιου Κομμόδου  
 Ἄντ(ων)είνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Φαρμοῦθι  
 μία καὶ εἰκάς.

2nd hand

3rd hand 10 Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἐπίμαχος ἀμφότεροι Ἀγαθείνου  
 ἐξηγητεύσαντος διὰ Ἡρακλᾶ ἰδίου Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ  
 Ἀπολλωνιανῶ γυμνασιάρχῃσαντι χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν  
 συνεκρηματίσαμεν σοι διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλᾶ ἐν τοῖς  
 τῆς πόλεως λόγοις ὁμολογοῦμεν κατὰ μηδέν σε  
 15 ἐλαττοῦσθαι περὶ ὧν ὀφείλομέν σοι. (ἔτους) κθ Ἀύρηλιου  
 Κομμόδου Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Ἄθῶρ ιη.

6. ε of αδελφος rewritten.

11. ἴδιου.

ll. 10 sqq. 'Apollonius and Epimachus, both sons of Agathinus, ex-exegetes, acting through their trusty Heraclas, to Sarapion also called Apollonianus, ex-gymnasiarch, greeting. Whereas we have been associated with you through the said Heraclas in business touching the accounts of the city, we acknowledge that no loss falls upon you with regard to our debt to you.' Date.

1. Cf. l. 11 and 2116. 2-3, n.

## 2136. SALE IN THE FORM OF LEASE OF A BOAT.

23.2 x 25.6 cm.

A.D. 291.

By this agreement a boat was leased for a period of fifty years in return for a single payment, called a *φόρος*, of 3 talents 3,000 drachmae, the transaction being described by the quaint expressions *μεμισθοπεπρακέναι* (ll. 4, 14) and *μισθοπρασία* (l. 18). The substantive, though not the verb, has previously occurred in two papyri, P. Brit. Mus. 1164 (*h*) (iii, p. 163) and B. G. U. 1157,

both relating, like 2136, to boats. In the former of these texts, a long and well-preserved document of the year 212 A. D., a *πλοῖον Ἑλληνικόν* of 400 artabas' burden, together with all its appurtenances, which are elaborately described, is placed at the unrestricted disposal of the lessees for a term of sixty years. In B. G. U. 1157, which is concerned with a *σκάφη ξυληγός* measuring 30 cubits by 11, the term is fifty years, starting from the year 10 B. C. Doubtless the intention in all three cases, which thus range over a period of 300 years, was the same: the owner, while really selling his boat, desired to retain the nominal ownership, and therefore disguised the fact of sale under the form of a lease. Why were boat-owners, in particular, unwilling to alienate their property outright? A plausible answer to that question has been given by R. de Ruggiero, who in a long article devoted to the British Museum contract in *Bull. dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano*, xx (1908), pp. 48 sqq.—he would have been spared some trouble had the much earlier Berlin papyrus then been available—suggests that the retention of ownership was due to certain attaching privileges. Legislation in favour of shipping which served the Roman corn-supply can be traced back to Claudius, and it has been supposed that owners of boats occupied a privileged position already in the days of the Ptolemies (de Ruggiero, *op. cit.* p. 63, Pigeonneau, *L'Annone romaine*, pp. 225, 235). If de Ruggiero's explanation is on the right lines, the theory of the Ptolemaic origin of such privileges gains greatly by the discovery of B. G. U. 1157. In what precisely they consisted, and the conditions under which they were granted, have yet to be ascertained. But at any rate, since the boat concerned in 2136 had a capacity of only 70 artabae, and since B. G. U. 1157 refers to a *σκάφη ξυληγός*, the rights, whatever they were, were not restricted either to proprietors of large vessels or to those engaged in the transport of corn.

The papyrus has suffered both from damage to the surface and from a vertical fracture which has occasioned the loss of some twenty-five letters or more at the ends of the lines; but the general sense is seldom in doubt.

\*Ἐτους ὀγδῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος Γαίου Ἀύρηλιου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλη-  
 τIAN[ο]ῦ καὶ ἔτους ἐβδόμου Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανού  
 Σε]βαστῶν, μῆνός Ἀπελλαίου Φαῶφι κγ, ἐν Πτολεμαῖδι  
 Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ [Α]ρ[σ]ινοῖτου. ὁμολογεῖ Ἀύρηλιος Νεμεσᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Κυνοπολίτου κάτω κα[ταμ]έγων [ἐ]ν τῇ μητροπόλει πρὸς τῷ Ἀκανθείῳ  
 ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν οὐλὴ ἔχνη ποδ[ὸς ἀριστεροῦ(?) Ἀύρηλιος Πατῆ  
 καὶ Ἀνικήτῳ Ἀνικήτου [μ]ητρὸς Τᾶ . . . s ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄξυρυγχίτου μεμι-  
 σθοπεπρακέναι τὸν ὁμολογοῦν[τα Ἀύρηλιον Νεμεσᾶν κατὰ τήνδε

- 5 τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς ἐν[εστώσης] ἡμέρας [ἐ]πὶ ἔτη πεντήκοντα τὸ  
 ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ πλοῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) ἑβδομήκοντα  
 σὺν τῇ τούτου ἑξαρτία πάση καὶ ἰστῷ [κ]αὶ λιναρμένῳ καὶ κ[έρ]ασι  
 σεσανιδωμένο[ν] διὰ νεῶς? καὶ . . . . . φόρου ἀργυρίου  
 δραχμῶν μυριάδων δύ[ο] καὶ χιλίων οὐσῶν ταλάντων τριῶν καὶ δραχμῶν  
 τρισχιλίων ἃς [καὶ ἀπεσχηκέναι διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου?  
 καὶ βεβαιώσιν . . . .] τὸν ὁμολογού[ν]τα Νεμεσᾶν καὶ τοὺς παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ τῷ Πατῆ καὶ Ἀνικήτῳ κ[αὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ ὑπάρχον  
 αὐτῷ ὡς πρόκειται πλοῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) ἑβδομήκοντα  
 σὺν τῇ τούτῳ ἐξαρτία πάση πα[ν]τοία? 20 letters  
 10 ση . . φιν . . ριδιωπι . υ πρὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοὺς Α[ύ]ρηλίους Πατῆν  
 καὶ Ἀνίκητον κρατίν [κα]ὶ [κυριεύειν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν  
 ἔχ[ειν] διοικῖν καὶ οἰκονομῖν ὡς ἂν αἰρῶνται, καὶ παρέλαβαν οἱ Αὐρ[ήλ]ι[ο]ι  
 [Πατ]ῆς καὶ Ἀνίκητος [τὸ προκείμενον πλοῖον πρὸς τὰ ἐξ?  
 [αὐ]τοῦ π[ε]ρ[ι]εινόμενα ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἴδιον καὶ πάντα  
 τ . . . σ . [ . ] . πρ . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιώση?  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [ἀ]ποτίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐδ εἰληφεν φόρους μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ τὰ τέλη  
 καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα διπλά καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰ ἴσα?  
 and h. Αὐρ[ήλ]ιος Νεμεσᾶς ὁμολογῶ μεμισ[θ]οπεπρακένε τ[ὸ] ὑπ[άρ]χον μοι πλοῖον  
 [ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) ἑβδομήκοντα  
 15 σὺν [ . ] . . . . . πα . . [ . . . . . καὶ ] λιναρμένῳ καὶ ἀπέσχ[ο]ν τὸν συμπ[ε]-  
 φωνημένον φόρον και-?  
 γοῦ ἀργυρί[ου] τάλαντα τρία καὶ [δ]ραχμὰς τρισχιλίας πα[ρ]αχρήμα  
 διὰ [χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, καὶ ἐπε-  
 ρωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα. Αὐρ[ήλ]ιος Κοπρῆς γυμνασιάρχης τῆς Λεόντ[ων]  
 πόλ[εως] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό]τος γράμματα.  
 3rd h. Αὐρ[ήλ]ιοι Πατῆς καὶ Ἀνίκητος γέγονε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡ μισθοπρασί[α] τοῦ  
 προκειμένου μου πλοῖου ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ ἐπερω-  
 τηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν. Αὐρ[ήλ]ιος Ἀμμώνιος Ἐπιμάχου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδ[ό]των.  
 3. ἔχνη: l. -νει. 5. ε of ετη inserted above the line. ὑπαρχον. 8. ω of τω corr.  
 from ο. 18. l. σου for μου.

'The eighth year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and the seventh year of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augusti, the 23rd of the month

Apellaeus or Phaophi, at Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite nome. Aurelius Nemesas, of the lower division of the Cynopolite nome, resident in the metropolis near the Acantheum, aged about 50, having a scar on the sole of his left (?) foot, acknowledges to the Aurelii Pates and Anicetus, sons of Anicetus and Ta . . . , of the Oxyrhynchite nome, that he, the acknowledging party Aurelius Nemesas, has in accordance with this agreement sold under lease for fifty years from the present day the Greek boat belonging to him of seventy artabas' burden with its entire equipment and mast and sail and yards, decked throughout and . . . , at a rent of twenty-one thousand silver drachmae making three talents three thousand drachmae, which he has received from hand to hand out of the house, and the acknowledging party Nemesas and his agents will guarantee to Pates and Anicetus and their agents the Greek boat belonging to him as aforesaid of seventy artabas' burden with its entire equipment of every sort . . . , so that from henceforward the Aurelii Pates and Anicetus possess and own the aforesaid boat and have power to manage and dispose of it as they choose, and the Aurelii Pates and Anicetus have taken over the aforesaid boat in order to appropriate the proceeds from it and . . . If he fail to guarantee it, he shall forfeit to them the rent received by him increased by one half, and double the amount of the taxes and expenses, and to the Treasury an equal sum. (Signed) I, Aurelius Nemesas, acknowledge that I have sold under lease the boat belonging to me of seventy artabas' burden with . . . and sail, and I have received the rent agreed, three talents three thousand drachmae of new silver forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, and in answer to the formal question have given my assent. I, Aurelius Copres, ex-gymnasiarch of Leontopolis, wrote for him, as he is illiterate. We, the Aurelii Pates and Anicetus, have been parties to the leasing-sale of your aforesaid boat of seventy artabas' burden, and in answer to the formal question have given our assent. I, Aurelius Ammonius son of Epimachus, wrote for them, as they are illiterate.'

2. The supplement at the end of this line is somewhat long, but can hardly be reduced except by supposing [Ἀ]ρ[σ]ινοῖτου to have been abbreviated.

3. For κάτω cf. 1256. 4 [Κ]υνοπ. ἄνω. 902. I ἐκδίκω τῆς ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν should perhaps be similarly explained. The Ἀκανθέιον at Arsinoë is mentioned in B. G. U. 9. iii. 16, 1087. ii. 4, &c.

4. Possibly Ταοῦς for -οὔτος.

6. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1164 (h). 7 sqq. (iii, p. 164) κεχαλατρώμενον καὶ ἐστρωμένον καὶ σεσανιδωμένον διὰ νεῶς σὺν ἰστῷ καὶ κέρατι καὶ λιναρμένῳ κτλ. One of the other two participles in that passage may have preceded φόρου here.

7. For the supplement cf. ll. 15-16.

8. τ[ὸ]ν [α]πὸν ὁμολ. might be read, but τ[ὸ]ν would be rather cramped and there would still be left one or two letters between it and βεβαιώσιν to be accounted for.

10. The uninterpreted letters at the beginning of the line are perhaps some further specification of the appurtenances of the boat. What is probably the tail of the second ι of πρόκειται in l. 9, gives the appearance of a letter between δι and ωπ.

12. π[ε]ρ[ι]εινόμενα is fairly probable, but what preceded is very doubtful. Cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1116. 17-18 ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸ περιγεωόμενον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον. τὰ is not suitable after πάντα.

13. τέλη: cf. 1650. 5-8 and nn. In P. Brit. Mus. cit. the corresponding clause specifies βλάβη and δαπανήματα, not τέλη; B. G. U. 1157 is defective.

15. πάση is apparently not to be read, but πᾶσι is possible and this would imply some such word as ἀνήκουσι instead of ἑξαρτία; I have not, however, been able to identify the scanty and ambiguous vestiges between σὺν and πα.



## 2137. LEASE OF LAND.

33 x 8.4 cm.

A. D. 226.

An undertaking to lease for one year 22 arurae of land sown with green crops at a money rent, as usual in the case of that class of cultivation; cf. e. g. 409, 780, 1124, 1685-6. The tenant had already taken an equal area of corn-land from the same lessors.

κεχρημάτισται).  
 2nd h. *Αύρηλιῷ Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ*  
*Ἀπολλω-*  
*νιανῷ γυμνασιάρχῃσαντι βουλευ-*  
*τῇ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειῶν πόλεως διὰ*  
 5 *Ἀύρηλιου Ὀρίωνος γραμματέως*  
*καὶ Ἀύρηλια Πτολέμα τῇ καὶ*  
*Μάγνα*  
*διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀύρηλιου Ἀρι-*  
*στίωνος*  
*υιοῦ Διογένους ἀγορανομήσαντος*  
*τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως*  
 10 *παρὰ Ἀύρηλιου Πατάτος Πατάτος*  
*μητρὸς Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισή-*  
*μου ἐποικίου. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχου-*  
*μαι μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μόνον*  
*τὸ ἐνεστὸς 5 (ἔτος) ἀπὸ τῶν*  
*ὑπαρχοῦ-*  
 15 *σῶν ὑμῶν καθ' ἕκαστος ἔχει*  
*μέρος περὶ κώμην Σκῶ ἐκ τοῦ*  
*Θεοδώρου καὶ Ἀύλαίου κλήρου*  
*ἀρουρῶν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων*  
*ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν ἑβδομήκοντα*  
 20 *ἕξ μεθ' ἃ ἐμισθωσάμεν ἐν πυρῷ*  
*ἡμισυ μέρος καὶ νῦν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν*  
*χλωροῖς γενόμενον ἡμισυ μέρος,*

25 *κοντα [ἀκινδύν]ων π[αντ]ῶς*  
*κινδ[ύ]νου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ποτισμοὺς*  
*χρήσ[ο]μα]ι τῇ μηχανῇ ἀνευ φόρου,*  
*τῶ[ν τῆς γ]ῆς δημοσίων ὄντων*  
*πρὸς ὑμᾶς κυριεύοντας τῶν καρ-*  
 30 *πῶν ἕως τὸν φόρον κομίσθηθε.*  
*βεβαιοῦ[ν]μένης δέ μοι τῆς ἐπι-*  
*δοχῆς*  
*ἀπ[οδ]ώσω τὸν φόρον τῷ Παῦνι*  
*μητρί τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἀνπερ-*  
*θέτως, κυρίας οὔσης τῆς αὐτῆς*  
*προ-*  
 35 *τέρας [μισ]θώσεως, τῆς πράξεως*  
*γει-*  
*νομ[έν]ης παρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν*  
*ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων. ἢ ἐπιδο-*  
*χῇ κ[υρί]α καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμο-*  
*λόγη-*  
*σ[α]. (ἔτους) 5] Ἀυτοκράτορος*  
*Καίσαρος*  
 40 *Μ[άρ]κου Ἀύρηλιου Σε[ο]νήρου*  
*Ἀλεξάνδρου*  
*Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,*  
*Χοίακ α.*  
 3rd h. *Ἀύρηλιος Πατάς Πατάτος*  
*μεμισθωμαι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προ-*

δ' ἐ[σ]τιν ἀρουραι εἴκοσι δύο, *κειμένοις. Ἀύρηλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος*  
 φ[όρου] 45 *Παυσαγίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*  
*κατ' ἀρουραν δραχμῶν . . . . .* *μὴ εἰδὸτος γράμματα.*

8. *υἱου.* 37. *ὑπαρχόντων.*

'Duly completed (?)

To Aurelius Sarapion also called Apollonianus, ex-gymnasiarch and senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, through Aurelius Horion, secretary, and to Aurelia Ptolema also called Magna through her husband Aurelius Aristion son of Diogenes, ex-agoranomus of the same city, from Aurelius Patas son of Patas and Thaësis, of the hamlet Epise mou. I undertake of my own free will to lease for the present sixth year only from the forty-four out of seventy-six arurae belonging to you in your respective shares at the village of Sko in the holding of Theodorus and Aulæus, besides the half share under wheat leased by me, now also the remaining half share that has been put under green crops, that is to say twenty-two arurae, at a rent of [? for]ty-four drachmae per arura, subject to no risk, and I shall have the use of the water-machine for irrigation rent-free, the taxes on the land being payable by you, who shall be owners of the crops until you have received the rent. On the confirmation of my offer I will pay the rent in the month of Pauni of the present year with no delay, the previous lease remaining in force, and you shall have the right of execution upon me and all my property. This offer is valid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. Date and signature of Aur. Patas written for him by Aur. Antoninus.

1. The origin and purport of this endorsement is not very clear.

2. Cf. 2116. 2-3, n.

24. Probably *τεσσαράκοντα*, unless the rent was more than 100 dr., which is perhaps hardly likely so early in the third century; cf. e. g. 1685, 1687, where 44 and 40 dr. per ar. are paid for land under green crops in A. D. 158 and 184. An arura of garden-land was let for 100 dr. in A. D. 239 according to P. Flor. 16.

27. Cf. e. g. P. Flor. 16. 10, where a *φρέαρ* and a *μηχανή* are included in the lease, P. Ryl. 99. 5 (*οὐσιακή γῆ*).

## 2138. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT.

15.5 x 12.7 cm.

A. D. 219.

Acknowledgement by a greengrocer of the receipt of 32 drachmae, the value of vegetables supplied to a strategus during a period of four months.

*[Ἀύρηλιῷ] Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιαῖνῳ στρα[τηγῷ] Ἐρμοπολίτου*  
*[Ἀύρηλιος Σαρ . . . . Διονυσίου] μητρὸς*  
*[ 20 letters ] Ἐρμοπολείτης*  
*[ἀναγραφόμενος] [ἐπὶ [ . . . . ] λιβ[ε]δος λαχανοπώ-*  
 5 *[λης χαί[ρειν].] ὁμολογῶ ἀ[πεσχη]κέναι διὰ Θεώνος*  
*ἀπελευθέρου σου τιμ[ῆ]ν ὃν παρέσχον*

λαχάνων τιλτών τῶν ἀπὸ Τῦβι μηνὸς  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) μέχρι Φαρμούθι καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ Φαρμούθι τοῦ αὐτοῦ β (ἔτους) ὡς τοῦ  
 10 μηνὸς δραχμῶν ὀκτὼ τὰς συναγομέ-  
 νας τῆς τετραμήνου ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 χμὰς τριάκοντα δύο, γίνονται (δρ.) λβ, ἄσπερ  
 ἀπέσχον διὰ τραπέζης Σωσίου  
 τραπ[ε]ζίτου ἀπὸ νότου τετραστύλου  
 15 ἐπ[ί] τοῦ λιθοστρώτου δρόμου. (ἔτους) β  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 [Αντα]νίου Εὐ[σεβοῦς] Εὐ[τυχοῦς]  
 Σεβαστοῦ, Φαρμούθι β. Αὐρήλιος  
 Σαρ[.] . . . Διονυσίου ἀπέσχον ὡς πρό-  
 20 [κειται

‘To Aurelius Sarapion also called Apollonianus, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, from Aurelius Sar . . . son of Dionysius and . . ., of Hermopolis, registered in the western . . . quarter, vegetable-seller, greeting. I acknowledge receipt through Theon your freedman of the value of gathered vegetables supplied by me from the month Tubi of the present 2nd year to Pharmouthi inclusive in the said 2nd year at the rate of eight drachmae per month, in all for the period of four months thirty-two drachmae of silver, total 32 dr., which I have received through the bank of Sosias, banker, on the south of the colonnade in the paved avenue.’ Date and signature.

1. For this strategus see 2119. 1-2, n.

4. Either Πόλεως or Φρουρίου stood in the lacuna; the former may have been written out, but the latter could hardly be got in without abbreviation, which of course is quite possible.

7. τιλτός is novel in papyri, and I have found no instance elsewhere of its use in connexion with λάχανα.

14-15. Several τετράστυλα (Ἀθηνᾶς, πρῶτον, μέγα) at Hermopolis are mentioned in C. P. Herm. 127. verso i. i. 8, ii. 20-2, iii. 4-6; cf. Méautis, *Hermop.* pp. 53, 163. The λιθόστρωτος δρόμος is more fully described as λ. δρ. Ἐρμοῦ θεοῦ τρισμεγάλου in P. Flor. 50. 97 and Amh. 98. 2, where, as observed by Dr. H. Schmitz, πρὸς [τῶν λιθ]οστρώτων δρ[όμων] Ἐρμ[οῦ] θεοῦ τρισμ[εγ]. is evidently to be read on the analogy of the Florentine text.

18. There is no change in the hand, so that, unless the whole document was a copy, the signature of the recipient was written for him by the scribe who wrote the body of the text.

## (d) ORDERS AND PRIVATE ACCOUNTS.

## 2139. ORDER FOR POULTRY.

6.9 × 9.3 cm. Late second or early third century.

An order to a poulterer to supply four fowls at the price of 2½ drachmae each for the entertainment of the strategus. Cf. 1568. The text is on the verso of the papyrus, written parallel with the fibres; on the recto, in a different hand, are the ends of five lines of an account.

Θώνι ὀρνειθᾶ.  
 δὸς εἰς παράστασιν  
 στρατηγοῦ ὀρνειθ(ας) δ  
 δραχμῶν δέκα. [  
 5 (ἔτους) δ, Φαμεν[ῶθ] . . .  
 π(αρὰ) Σπαρ[τιάτου] ?

‘To Thonis, poulterer. Provide for the visit of the strategus 4 fowls at ten drachmae. 4th year, Phamenoth . . ., from Spartiates.’

1. Θώνι: perhaps to be identified with the Θώνιος ὀρνιθᾶς addressed in 1568; the 13th year there mentioned was supposed to refer to the reign of Gallienus, but that is far from certain.

2. This use of παράστασις, which is comparable with that of παρουσία (cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 386 sqq.), seems to be new in the papyri. In Byzantine writers the word is somewhat similarly applied to state appearances of the Emperor.

6. Σπαρ[τιάτου] : cf. 2140. 2; that document was found with 2139.

7. On the broken edge below this line are slight traces of ink, which may well be remains of a signature.

## 2140. ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF DUES.

16 × 18 cm.

Third century.

Authorization from a woman to her brother to make certain payments in kind to the tax-collectors of three villages.

Αὐρηλία Εὐδαιμο-  
 νίς Αὐρ(ηλίω) Σπαρτιάτη

10 Τόκα πόλ(εως) ἀρτάβας  
 πέντε ἡμισυ,

τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρει(ν).  
 διάστειλον εἰς λδ-  
 5 γον μου τοῖς ὑπο-  
 γεγραμμένοις·  
 πράκτορσι  
 Ταλαῶ πόλ(εως) ἀρτά-  
 βην μίαν ἡμισυ,

Σενέπτα πόλεως  
 ἀρτάβας ἐννέα,  
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρ-  
 15 τάβας ἐννέα,  
 γίνονται (ἀρτάβαι) ις.  
 (ἔτους) γ, Ἄθῶρ κζ.

3. χαίρει. 5. ὑπο. 15. εννεα repeated in error; 1. ἐκκαίδεκα.

'Aurelia Eudaemonis to her brother Aurelius Spartiates, greeting. Pay on my account to the collectors below written, of Talao for the city  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, of Toka for the city  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, of Seneptha for the city 9 artabae, making altogether nine (read 'sixteen') artabae, total 16 art. Third year, Hathur 21.'

2. Σπαρτιάτη: perhaps the writer of 2139; cf. n. on l. 6 there.

8. πόλ(εως): cf. l. 10 and l. 12, where the word is written out. At an earlier period the term πόλις was occasionally applied to a village (e.g. P. S. I. 341. 3), but such a use is out of the question here, and πόλεως must consequently be a qualification of the payment, practically equivalent to εἰς λόγον πόλεως.

10. Τόκα: cf. 1689. 74, 79, where Τόβα was wrongly preferred to Τόκα. The suggestion that Τόβα should be read instead of Τόκα in P. S. I. 219. 4 is withdrawn.

17. A signature may be lost below this line.

## 2141. ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF RENT.

24.7 × 10.3 cm.

A. D. 208?

Authorization for a payment of rent to village-elders. The 16th year, in which it is dated, probably refers to the reign of Septimius Severus.

Κύριλλα Ἱερακιάινη.  
 ἐξοδίασον εἰς φόρους ἐδαφῶν  
 π[ε]ρὶ Ἱβιῶνα Τακόνα πρεσβυτέροις  
 Σούεως διὰ τοῦ πράκτορος  
 5 τῶν ἀργυρικῶν τῆς αὐ[τ]ῆς  
 Σούεως ἀργυρί[σ]υ δραχμὰ[ς] τρια-  
 κοσίας, ὧν γράμμ[α]τ[α] ἔσχ[ο]ν.  
 (ἔτους) ις, Μ[ε]σορῆ ι. Σ . . . . . ( ) σεση(μείωμαι).

'Cyrilla to Hieraciaena. Pay for rent of lands at Ibion and Takona to the elders of Souis through the collector of money-taxes of the said Souis 300 drachmae of silver, for which I have had written papers. 16th year, Mesore, 10. Signed by me, S . . .'

2. Since the money was collected by a πράκτωρ and paid to πρεσβύτεροι, the land perhaps belonged to the commune rather than to the government; cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 842 (iii, p. 141). Elsewhere these respective functions are sometimes found reversed, e.g. B. G. U. 199. 15, where a πράκτωρ records a payment of sheep-tax διὰ πρεσβ[υ]τέρων].

3-4. These three villages must have been near neighbours, especially the two former. Τακόνα and Σούις were both in the lower toparchy (1285. 30, 40) and Τακόνα is separated by a single name from Ἱβιῶν in the list of villages in 998.

7. It is doubtful if γράμμ[α]τ[α] here can be the receipt, as e.g. in 1192. 7, since the money had not yet been paid. The ambiguity of ἔσχ[ο]ν adds to the difficulty of determining what is meant.

8. The signatory was presumably the agent of Cyrilla. There is no evident change of hand, but the signature is damaged and there is not much to go upon.

## 2142. ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF ANNONA.

13.4 × 13.8 cm.

About A. D. 293.

The two following orders for payment, which were found together, passed between the same two individuals. 2142, which is written across the fibres, authorizes deliveries of wheat on behalf of various villages to an overseer of the (military) bread-supply; cf. 1115. An artaba of wheat is valued at 300 drachmae, a considerably lower figure than that given by the edict *De pretiis* a few years later.

Ζωῖλος Ὠρίωνι χαί[ρ]ειν.  
 παράδος Σαραπίων[ι] ἐξή[γ]ητῆ ἐπιμελη(τῆ) ἄρτου  
 ἀνω(νικοῦ) ὑπ(έρ) τῶν ὑπ[ὸ]γεγραμμένων ἐποικί(α)ν  
 α καὶ β ἐπιγρα(φῆ)ς, Πλεῶ τὰς λοιπ(ὰς) (ἀρτάβας) 5, Ψώβθ(εως)  
 5 μέσης (ἀρτ.) ιη, Ξενάρχου τὰς λοιπ(ὰς) (ἀρτ.) ιε, Τακολ-  
 κείλεως (ἀρτ.) ιη, Μασσιγοφόρου (ἀρτ.) ι,  
 γίνονται (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ξξ μέτ(ρφ) ι, λ[ο]γιζόμεναι αὐτοῖς πρὸς  
 (δραχμὰς) τ.  
 2nd hand γείν(ονται) ἀρτάβ(αι) ἐξήκοντα ἐπτά, ἐση(μειωσάμην) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.)  
 ξξ,  
 μέτ(ρφ) ι.

1st hand 10 (ἔτους?) [. (ἔτους) καὶ . (ἔτους) καὶ . (ἔτους), ] 5.

1. Ζωῖλος.

'Zoilus to Horion, greeting. Deliver to Sarapion, exegetes and superintendent of bread for the annona, on behalf of the villages below written, for the first and second assessment, Plelo the remaining 6 artabae, Psobthis in the middle toparchy 18 art., Xenar-

chou the remaining 15 art., Takolkilis 18 art., Mastingophorou 10 art., total 67 art. of wheat by the 10th measure, reckoned to them at the rate of 300 drachmae.' Signature and date.

4. ἐπιγρα(φῆς): cf. 1445. 8, n.

5. μέσης is added to avoid confusion with the two similarly named villages in the eastern and lower toparchies. The other places here named also belonged to the μέση except Ξενάρχου, which was in the upper toparchy (1285. 60).

6. Μασσιγγοφόρου: this is evidently the partially read name which occurred in 1285. 21, 114; in the latter place, however, the remains of the fourth letter certainly suggest τ rather than σ, and the τ is now confirmed by P. S. I. 947. 24; the second σ here is therefore to be regarded as a misspelling.

7. μέτ(ρφ) ι: cf. 2143. 4 and e.g. 907. 24, 1192. 5, the latter passage similarly relating to a delivery to collectors of annona.

8. γείν(ονται) is not very satisfactory, but seems preferable to σεσ(ημείωμαι). The abbreviation recurs in 2143. 4, but the letters there are much damaged.

#### 2143. ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF WAGES.

8.5 × 17.4 cm.

A. D. 293.

Order sent by and to the same persons as those in 2142 for payments in kind to a maker of bricks and his partner. The text is on the verso, the recto containing the conclusions of twenty-two lines from the end of a contract of A. D. 216-17 alienating 18 arurae of land which are characterized as ἐκ(?) ]μο-ναρτάβ[σ]υ.

Ζωίλος Ὀρίωνι χαίρειν.

δὸς Πάμμωνι πλινθ(ευτῆ) εἰς λόγ(ον) μισθ(οῦ) ὧν ποιεῖται ἔργων

ἄχρι συνάρσεως πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ιβ, γίνονται (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ιβ, Ἄτρῆ  
ἑτέρῳ

κοινωνῶ αὐτοῦ ὁμοί(ως) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ιβ, γίνονται (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) κδ, μέτ(ρφ)  
ι. (2nd hand) γείν(ονται)

5 ἀρτάβ(αι) εἴκοσι τέσσαρες, ἔσημ(ειωσάμην) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) κδ.

(ἔτους?) [ι (ἔτους)] καὶ θ (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους), Θὼθ 5.

1. ζωῖλος.

'Zoilus to Horion, greeting. Give to Pammon, brickmaker, in respect of pay for work in hand until the settling of accounts 12 artabae of wheat, total 12 art. wh., and to Hatres his other partner similarly 12 artabae of wheat, total 24 art. wh., by the 10th measure.' Signature and date.

3. συνάρσεως: sc. λόγων or -ου, as in P. Amh. 101, Wilcken, *Ost.* 1135. 5. ἄχρι συνάρσεως is used absolutely as here in P. Leipz. 97. xiii. 8.

4. Cf. mn. on 2142. 7, 8.

5. Possibly μέτ(ρφ) ι, as in 2142. 9, has been obliterated at the end of the line.

#### 2144. LIST OF PAYMENTS.

21.5 × 12.5 cm.

Late third century.

Account of payments for various commodities; some interesting items and words occur. It is clear from l. 1 that this column is only a section of a larger whole, but the sheet is nevertheless complete in itself.

Καὶ ὁμοί(ως) ἐξωδιάσθη ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
Ἄμμωνᾶ εἰς λόγ(ον) τῶν γεούχων  
δι(ὰ) Σαραπάμμωνος τι(μῆς) πετροσελί-  
νου Μακεδονικ(οῦ) οὐγκ(ίας) α εἰς καταπό-  
5 τιον ἵππων ἀθλητικῶν (δραχμαὶ) ω,  
τῆ γεούχῳ ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) μίλτου ὀλκ(ῆς) μν(ῶν) ε (δρ.) φ,  
τῆ αὐτ(ῆ) ὁμοί(ως) ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) κόλλης τεκτονικ(ῆς)  
εἰς τὸν κτίστην ὀλκῆς μνᾶς δ' . . . ] (δρ.) ρνβ,  
τῆ αὐτῆ ὁμοί(ως) ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) μίλτου  
10 μν(ῶν) ι (δρ.) Ἄ,  
Θωνίῳ ἰδίῳ ὁμοί(ως) ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) μίλτου  
ὀλκ(ῆς) μν(ῶν) β εἰς τὸ Κόσμου (δρ.) σ,  
'Ἐπαφροδείτῳ ὁμοί(ως) ἰδίῳ ὑπ(έρ) κη-  
ροῦ μν(ᾶς) α δοθείσης τῆ  
15 πρίγκιπι (δρ.) ρ,  
τῆ γεούχῳ Σαραπί[ω]νι κη-  
ροῦ μν(ῶν) δ (δρ.) υ,  
'Ἡλιοδώρῳ ἰδίῳ ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) κόλλης τε-  
κτονικῆς εἰς τὸ Κόσμου μν(ᾶς) 4 (δρ.) τ,  
20 Εὐμενεῖῃ ἰδίῳ εἰς γάμους Ἀπολ-  
λωνίου ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) λύχνων (δρ.) μ,  
Θωνίῳ ὁμοί(ως) κόλλης τεκτονι-  
κῆς μνᾶς δ' (δρ.) ρνβ,  
Ζωίλῳ ἰδίῳ ὁμοί(ως) κόλλης τεκτονι-  
25 κῆς μν(ᾶς) δ' εἰς τροχοῦς ἵππων  
ἀθλητικῶν (δρ.) ρνβ,  
Σαραπίωνι γεούχῳ ἀγωνοθε-

τοῦντι ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόου

πλάσματα λιβανωτοῦ ἀρι-

30 θμῶ [δ]έκα (δρ.) ω.

4. οὐγ'κ. 11. ἴδιω: so ll. 13, 20. 25. ιππῶ.

'Paid similarly by me, Ammonas, on account of the landlords: through Sarapion for the price of 1 oz. of Macedonian rock-parsley for a bolus for race-horses 800 dr.; to the landlady for the price of ochre to the weight of 5 minae, 500 dr.; to the same similarly for the price of carpenter's glue for the builder to the weight of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina, 152 dr.; to the same similarly for the price of ochre to the weight of 10 minae, 1000 dr.; to Thonius of my household similarly for the price of ochre to the weight of 2 minae for Cosmu, 200 dr.; to Epaphroditus similarly of my household for 1 mina of wax given to the *princeps*, 100 dr.; to the landlord Sarapion for 4 minae of wax, 400 dr.; to Heliodorus of my household for the price of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina of carpenter's glue for Cosmu, 300 dr.; to Eumeneia of my household for the price of lamps for the wedding of Apollonius, 40 dr.; to Thonius similarly for  $\frac{1}{4}$  mina of carpenter's glue, 152 dr.; to Zoilus of my household similarly for  $\frac{1}{4}$  mina of carpenter's glue for the wheels of the race-horses, 152 dr.; to the landlord Sarapion who has the office of *agonothetes* at Antinoë, 10 cakes of frankincense, 800 dr.'

3-4. *πετροσέλιον Μακεδονικόν* is referred to more than once by Galen; cf. Diosc. iii. 77 who says that *πετροσέλιον φύεται ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις τόποις*. *καταπότιον* is also a word used by Galen among other medical writers.

5. Cf. ll. 25-6. This is an early reference to horse-racing in Egypt, the chief vogue of which belongs to a later period; cf. 145, 152.

7. *κόλλη τεκτονικῆς*: cf. ll. 18, 22, 24, C. P. Herm. 127. verso i. ii. 11.

12. τὸ Κόσμου: sc. ἐποίκιον.

15. *πρίγκιπι*: cf. 1880. 3, n.

27. *ἀγωνοθετοῦντι*: cf. 2105. 6, n.

#### 2145. MEASUREMENTS OF A BATH.

22.2 × 13.8 cm.

A. D. 186.

A statement by surveyors giving measurements of the various compartments of a bath in a house, in preparation for plastering work. Five *θόλοι* at least, with their accompanying *πρόσχερα*—whatever they may be—are enumerated, so that the installation was not on a small scale. Opposite ll. 18-20 are the first letters of three lines of a succeeding column, and on the verso, written in the opposite direction, are the ends of a few lines of another account, of uncertain character.

[("Ἐτους) κ]ῆ Ἀνρ[η]λίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος

[το]ῦ κυρίου, Φαῶφι. ἀναμέτρησις κονιατικῶν

[ἐργ]ῶν βαλανείου κατασκευασθέντος ἐν οἴκῳ . .

[. ο]ν Σεουήρου ἢ γενομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν T . . . .

5 [Σαρα]πίωνος καὶ Συρίωνος γεωμετρῶν, ἔστι δέ-

[πρ]ώτου θόλου βορινοῦ ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) ρκ[η]ζ,

[κ]αὶ προσχέρω(ν) β πήχ(εις) νς οἱ ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) ριβ[ι],

γ(ίνονται) τοῦ θόλου πήχ(εις) ἀπλοῖ σμλ.

[δ]ευτέρου θόλου ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) σκε,

10 καὶ προσχέρω(ν) β πήχ(εις) πγ οἱ ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) ρξς,

γ(ίνονται) θόλου ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) τρζα.

[τρ]ίτου θόλου ξηρᾶς ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) ριδλῆ',

καὶ προσχέρω(ν) β πήχ(εις) [νβ ο]ἱ [ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις)] ρδ,

γ(ίνονται) θόλου ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) σιηλῆ'.

15 [τετ]άρτου θόλου θερμοφύ(ρου) ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) σξδ,

[καὶ] προσχέρων β πήχ(εις) ριβ οἱ ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) σκδ,

γ(ίνονται) θόλου ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) υπη.

[πέμπ]του [θόλο]ν ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) ρε,

[καὶ] προσχέρω(ν) β] πήχ(εις) ξ οἱ ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) ρκ,

20 [γ(ίνονται) θόλου] ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) σκε.

[. . . . .] πήχ(εις) [

1-8. 'The 26th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi. Measurement of plaster-work for the bath which has been built in the house of . . . Severus as made by us, . . . son of (?) Sarapion and Syron, surveyors, as follows:—First chamber on the north, 128 $\frac{1}{2}$  simple cubits, and 2 *πρόσχερα*, 56 cubits, making 112 simple cubits, total for the chamber 240 $\frac{1}{2}$  simple cubits,' &c.

2-3. *κονιατικῶν* [ἐργ]ῶν is supported by P. Petrie 112. (f) verso ii. 1, but the remains of the letters at the end of l. 2 are very slight.

6. *θόλου*: cf. e.g. 148. 2, 896. 12.

7. *προσχέρω(ν)*: cf. l. 16, where the word is written out. Its significance remains obscure, whether it be connected with *σχερός* or *χείρ*. *πρόσχερα* (*κρέα*) in Athen. 149 b is commonly regarded as a corruption of *πρόχειρα*, and in any case is not illuminating. The area of the *πρόσχερα* is regularly multiplied by 2 in order to produce *ἀπλοῖ πήχεις*, so that they must have had two sides to be plastered.

9. In the right-hand margin between this line and the next is written . θ, which has no evident bearing on this column and may refer to the next (cf. int.).

12. *ξηρᾶς*: cf. l. 15, where *θερμοφύ(ρου)* follows *θόλου*; but why the feminine is used is not apparent. Cf. Alex. Aphrod. *Probl.* i. 41 τοῦ ξηροῦ θόλου.

15. *θερμοφύ(ρου)*: cf. 896. 11 τῶν δύο ψυχροφύρων.

21. This line may either refer to a sixth *θόλος* or give the total for the five which have preceded. [ἐκτου θόλου ἀπλοῖ] would be rather long for the lacuna, but the adjective might have followed *πήχ(εις)*, as in l. 8.

## 2146. INVENTORY OF A HOUSE.

7.5 x 14.5 cm.

Third century.

A fragment of a descriptive inventory of a house and its contents, neatly written in a small semicursive hand suggestive of the latter part of the third century. Some interesting words occur. On the verso are the ends of a few lines from the top of a column, probably a letter.

Δευτέρας στέγης νοτινῆς συμπ . . . [  
 τοῦ πε[σσο]ῦ σὺ[ν] . . . λωτη α, βορινῆ[ς  
 ηλα[

θυρίδες?

ἐπιφωτίζουσαι τὰ ὑποκείμενα [.] . . [  
 5 χαλκῆ α, καὶ [ἐ]πὶ τοίχου τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαλκοθεσίου κλειδες χαλκαῖ [ σὺν . . .  
 καὶ ἐξομβριστήρησι β χαλκαῖ, καὶ ἀφετήρια χαλκαῖ β ὄν α βάλλουσα εἴς  
 ἐν ὑπερφοῖς τοῦ χαλκοθεσίου φελλὸς α σὺν κλειδίῳ χαλκῷ καὶ ζυγώ[ματι]?  
 Ἀπιάδος βορινῆ καὶ κατόπιθεν στρογγύλη βορινῆ πρ[ὸ]ς ἀφετηρία[ς  
 τῆ αὐτῆ παραδρομίδι, θύρα κέλλας σὺν κερατέα καὶ πήγμασι καὶ ἐπι-  
 στα[θμ]οι? ἄλλη θύρα βάλλουσα?

10 εἰς πλατεῖαν, ἄλλη θύρα βάλλουσα εἰς παραδρομίδα πεσσοῦ σὺν κερατέα [ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] υκλακησίῳν καὶ ὄχων ἔχοντα δίθυρα β σὺν κερατέαις καὶ [ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ]ων καγκελλ [ . . . . . ] . σι . . . α, στοᾶς σὺν πήγμασι κάγκελλοι μεγ[άλο]ι  
 [ . . . ]π . . . [ . . . ] κ . [ . . . . . ] . . κ . . . θαρη . ξυλοστεγ[

1. συμπό[σ]μ[ον] (?) is a possible reading.

2. For πε[σσο]ῦ cf. l. 10, but the remains of the supposed π are slight and the restoration must be considered very doubtful. Further on, the letter before λ may be γ, π, or τ.

5. χαλκοθεσίου: cf. l. 7, P. Stud. Pal. xx. 230. 6-7 πλίνθου ὀπτήης εἰς τὸ χ. [τ]οῦ βαλανίου.

6. With ἐξομβριστήρησι cf. ἐξομβριστήριον, which is cited in the lexicon of Stephanus from a gloss; conduits for carrying off rain-water are doubtless meant. ἀφετηρία is used elsewhere of a starting-point or a door through which a start was made (θύρα ἱπποδρομίου, Suid.), but here the sense is evidently different. Perhaps the ἀφετήρια were the outlets of the ἐξομβριστήρες. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1177. 290-1 (iii, p. 189) κρ[ο]ννοὺς καὶ [σ]ωλ(ήνας) καὶ κλειδας ἀφετηρίων, where the word is now to be regarded as feminine, not neuter.

7. φελλός: 'cork' is the only known meaning.

8. Apias was perhaps a neighbour whose property adjoined. κατόπιθεν is a remarkable form; the poetic ἄπιθεν occurs in Byzantine papyri.

9. κερατέα (cf. ll. 10-11) is a carob-tree, but must here have some more specific sense. What is to be understood in P. Gen. 75. 8-9 ἕως ἐωνήσαντο κερατέας τῶν ἀ(κ)ανθέων, the only

other place where the word has occurred in papyri, is uncertain. For ἐπιστάθμω cf. P. Cairo Preisigke 31. 40, where an object of some kind is evidently implied (? from ἐπίσταθμον rather than -ας).

11. In the first word the letter before α may be τ. ὄχων is unknown.

12. α before στοᾶς is the numeral, as is shown by the horizontal stroke following it. For κάγκελλοι cf. P. Ryl. 233. 3-4, where a κάγκελλος of a συμπόσιον and a διαβάθρα καγγελλωτή are mentioned.

13. Perhaps there is only one letter, α, between κ and θ. ξυλοστεγ[ was not improbably preceded by a numeral.

## (e) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

## 2147. INVITATION TO DINNER:

4.6 x 7 cm.

Early third century.

An invitation of the usual type (cf. 1484-7. int.) but in honour of an occasion which is new in such documents, the crowning (στέψις) of the host's son on his entry upon some civic office.

Καλεῖ σε Εὐδαιμων δειπνή-  
 σαι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπὶ τῆ  
 στέψει τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Νείλου  
 τῆ α ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) η.

2nd hand 5

β.

'Eudaemon invites you to dine at the Gymnasium on the crowning of his son Nilus on the 1st, at the eighth hour.'

2-3. Cf. e.g. 1117. 5, P. Ryl. 77. 34, and especially P. Par. 69. ii. 6 sqq. (W. 41) δ] στρατηγὸς . . . ἐ]ν τῷ γυμνασίῳ . . . ἐ]στεψεν εἰς γυμνασιάρχ[αν] . . . καὶ ἔθυσ]εν ἐν τε τῷ Καισαρείῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυ]μνασίῳ.

4. ὥρ(ας) is written in the form of a monogram, as often in these invitations.

5. β, which has been added apparently by a different hand, is obscure. It is followed by a horizontal dash, like the α in l. 4, and would naturally be taken for a date. Perhaps the dinner was for some reason postponed a day and this was the guest's own note of the fact, or the invitations were numbered consecutively. Since only quite a short notice was customary, it is not at all likely that β refers to the date on which they were issued.



εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ πῶν θέλεις γένηται,

ἵνα ἢ τάχος σοι γένηται.

10 ἔρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι.

On the verso

ἀπ(όδος) εἰς τὴν οἰκ(ίαν) Σαρμάτ(ου) πρυτανεύσ(αντος) π(αρά) Διδύμου.

7. First ε of ἀνεπιστειλῆς corr. 8. l. πῶς. 9. ο of σοι corr. from υ.

'Didymus to his brother Apollonius, many greetings. Before all I send many salutations to you and your children, whom the evil eye shall not harm. I have written to you before about the purple which you sent me by your son Apollonius, and I will now write to you to ask you to send me back word how much and in what way you wish it to be used for each (garment), in order that it may be quickly done for you. I pray for your health. (Addressed) Deliver to the house of Sarmates, ex-prytanis, from Didymus.'

8. θέλεις γένηται: cf. e. g. P. S. I. 972. 11 θέλεις ἀποσπάσης, which the editor apparently did not understand. The construction is frequent in the N. T., e. g. Matt. xiii. 28, xx. 32.

9. For ἢ τάχος cf. e. g. 59. 15-16 ἵνα . . . ἢ τάχος ἐκδημήσαι. The paratactical γένηται is comparable to such uses as καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψεις, e. g. 299. 4.

#### 2151. LETTER OF ITALICUS.

11.1 x 12.9 cm.

Third century.

Beginning of a letter addressed to a mother and a sister, in which the writer, like the prodigal in B. G. U. 846, declares that he is 'naked' and begs for help.

Κυρία μου μητρὶ καὶ κυρία μου

ἀδελφῆ Ἰταλικὸς χαίρειν.

καὶ διὰ Εὐφρανίου ὑμῖν ἔγραψα

τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ὅπως διάκειμαι,

5 ὑμεῖς δέ μοι οὐδὲ ἀπαξ ἐδηλώ-

σατε περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν,

ὅπερ κὰν νῦν ποιήσατε διὰ τῶν

ἐρχόμενων πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ καὶ

διὰ γραμμάτων ὑμῖν ἔγραψα ὅτι

10 γυμνὸς εἰμι. διδ' ἀξιῶ σε, κυρία μου

[μητρ, . . .] . . . α . . . τ[ . . . ] . . .

Along the left margin'

τοὺς ἡμῶν κατ' {τ} ὄνομα. ἀσπάζ[ονται] ὑμᾶς . . .

καὶ Οὐικτωρία καὶ Τυ . . . . . ς καὶ . [ καὶ

ὁ ἀδελφὸς Στέφανος καὶ . . . ατο . [

On the verso

15 κυρία μου μητρὶ Περικ[

2. ἰταλικός.

3. ὑμεῖν: so throughout.

12. κατ' ὄνομα.

'To my lady mother and my lady sister from Italicus, greeting. I wrote to you by Euphranius about my affairs, how I am placed, but you have never once told me about your health, so do so now by the people who are coming to us. And indeed I wrote to you in my letter that I am naked. I therefore beg you, my lady mother, . . .'

9-10. Cf. B. G. U. 846. 9-10 αἴγραψά σοι ὅτι γυμνὸς εἰμι. Such statements need not be taken quite literally.

12. ἀσπάζομαι . . . πάντας had no doubt preceded.

13. The second ι of Οὐικτωρία is very uncertain, and perhaps -τωρα was written. In the next name Τυ seems to have been followed by λ or χ, but neither Τυλλιανός nor Τύχανδρος is satisfactory.

15. e. g. Περικ[λεία.

#### 2152. LETTER OF ASCLEPIADES.

14 x 17.3 cm.

Third century.

The recipient of this note, who is requested by his father to remind the epistrategus to answer a letter, may be conjectured to have occupied some position in the office of that dignitary.

Ἀσκληπιάδης Ζωίλῳ υἱῷ χαίρειν.

ἐπειδὴ γράμματα τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρα-

τήγῳ διεπεμψάμην, καλῶς ποιήσεις

ὑπομνήσας αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει μοι

5 ἀντιγράψαι, προνοήσι δὲ ὅπως

καὶ τὰ γράμματά μοι ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀ-

ξυρυγχείτην παραπεμφθῆ.

2nd hand

ἔρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι

πολλοῖς χρόνοις.



On the verso

1st hand 10 Ζωίλω υἱῷ

Ἀσκληπιάδης.

1. ζῶλω: so l. 10.

‘Asclepiades to his son Zoilus, greeting. Since I have sent a letter to his excellency the epistrategus, you will do well to remind him to reply to me quickly; and see also that my letter is forwarded to the Oxyrhynchite nome. I pray for your lasting health. (Addressed) To my son Zoilus, from Asclepiades.’

## 2153. LETTER OF DIDYMUS.

16.8 x 9.7 cm.

Third century.

This letter, written across the fibres, though showing some careless errors both in spelling and construction, is in a fairly practised hand, certainly different from that of 2150; that the correspondents were the same persons is possible, but does not seem very likely.

Τῷ ἀξιολογώτῳ Ἀπόλλωνι

Δίδυμος χαίρειν.

5 ῥύσις χωρίου Διονύσου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 τῶν ληϊδίων 5 (τετρά)χ(ορα?) Ἐρλβ,  
 διπ(λᾶ) ρκα, δίχο(ρα?) λζ, ξενικόκουφα  
 ἀριθμῷ η, εἰς δὲ κατηγύσθη ἐπὶ  
 τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρα σια καὶ διαταγῆς  
 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρα ρκγ, γί(νεται) ἐπ(ι) τοῦ  
 ὄλου χωρίου Ἐυξδ. τὰ κτήνη ἀπέ-  
 10 στείλα μετὰ τοῦ τέκτονος καὶ Σώτου  
 καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδόμου σήμερον ἐκβάν-  
 τι τῆς ὑποκαύσεως τῆς ὀπτῆς, δοὺς  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς αὐτῷ ὡς αὐ-  
 τῇ ἔγραψέν μοι. φρόντισον πῶς  
 15 ἀνελθεῖν ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ θέλεις ἀνελ-  
 θεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κτη-  
 νῶν. ἐὰν γὰρ τύχωμεν πλοίου εἰς δ  
 ἡ μικὴ δύναται ἐμβῆναι, ἀνερ-  
 χόμεθα, εἰ δὲ θέλεις ἀποστεῖλε ἐφ' ἡ-  
 20 μᾶς τὰ κτήνη εἰς τὸ τοῦ Λαγᾶ ἵνα

διὰ νυκτὸς ὀδεύσαντες ἀνέλθωμεν,  
 μόνον μὴ ἡμᾶς καταλίψῃς τὸν  
 μικρὸν πάκτωνα (δν) μετὰ Ἰσιδώρου  
 ἀνέπεμψα, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν γὰρ  
 25 ἡ μικὴ ἐκὶ ἐμβῆναι.  
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

On the verso

τῷ ἀξιολογῶ- τάτῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ

Δίδυμος.

4. ω of τῶν corr. from ου. 8. ι of ἐπι inserted. 9. Second η of κτηνη added  
 above the line. 11. ι. ἐκβάντος. 13. ι. μισθοὺς αὐτοῦ. 18. η of μικη corr. from κ.  
 20. ἵνα. 21. αν of ἀνελθωμεν added above the line.

‘To the most honourable Apollonius from Didymus, greeting. The total yield of the vineyard of Dionysus from the six presses is 5132 4-chor measures, 121 doubles, 37 2-chor measures, and foreign vessels to the number of 8, into which were bottled a total of 211 measures and for the distribution a total of 123 measures, making for the whole vineyard 5464. I have sent the animals with the carpenter and Sotas and the builder, who has to-day quitted the burning of the baked bricks, having given him his pay as the mistress (?) wrote to me. Consider how we are to come, if you do not want us to come on the animals here. If we find a boat on which the young girl can embark, we will come so, but if you want to send the animals for us to the homestead (?) of Lagas in order that we may come travelling by night, (do so); but at any rate do not leave for us the little boat I sent with Isidorus, for the young girl did not venture to embark on that. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To the most honourable Apollonius from Didymus.’

1. Ἀπόλλωνι: the verso has Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

4-5. The abbreviations resolved (τετρά)χ(ορα) and δίχο(ρα) are written χ<sup>δ</sup>- and διχ<sup>ο</sup>-, the explanation adopted being based on P. Gen. 71 (probably third century), where τετρά-χ(ορα) and δίχορα, which is several times abbreviated δίχο(ρα), occur as measures of ὄξος; the spelling δίχωρον, &c., is elsewhere usual (e.g. P. Fay. 220) but χόρ, κόρος, are found in the metrological writers. Alternative, but on the whole perhaps less likely, resolutions would be (τετρά)χ(οα) and δίχο(α). A μέτρον τετράχου occurs in P. Grenf. ii. 24. 13, and the same measure has been supposed by Hultsch, *Archiv*, iv. 434, to be meant by the abbreviation χ<sup>δ</sup> found on a fragment of an amphora (P. Fay. p. 60). But that abbreviation may stand simply for χ(όες) δ. Hultsch considers that a concrete measure is implied by the fact that χ<sup>δ</sup>, χ<sup>ε</sup> are preceded by numbers, α, β, or γ. The meaning of these, however, is quite uncertain; if they referred to χ<sup>δ</sup>, χ<sup>ε</sup>, they would follow rather than precede, and they may be the numbers of the amphorae, or of wine-presses (cf. l. 4 above); and in any case, even if Hultsch were right, (τετρά)χ(ορα) would be just as possible as (τετρά)χ(οα). δίχοα, though occurring in literary sources, have not yet appeared in papyri.—ξενικόκουφον is a new compound; cf. e.g. καινόκουφον in 1911. 181, &c.

7. διαταγῆς: what exactly is meant is not clear. In P. Fay. 133. 4-5 ἵνα τὴν διαταγὴν τῆς τρύγης ποιήσῃται seems to have a quite general sense.

9. Ευξδ: the figures actually add up to 5466.  
 12. οπτῆς: sc. πλίνθου, as e.g. 1674. 8.  
 14-15. πῶς ἀνελθεῖν ἡμᾶς is a curious mixture of constructions.  
 20. Λαγᾶς is not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.  
 21-3. The writer forgot the apodosis to εἰ θέλεις κτλ. and apparently became confused between ἡμᾶς καταλίψης ἔχοντας (or e.g. πέμψας) τὸν πάκτωνα and ἡμῖν καταλίψης τὸν π.  
 27. On the edge of the papyrus above τῷ are the letters ] . φς in darker ink, apparently having nothing to do with the address.

## 2154. LETTER OF HERACLIDES.

25.1 × 16.2 cm.

Fourth century.

Owing to its abnormal syntax the following letter is not always easily intelligible, but in interest it is above the average. It evidently belongs to the fourth century, a fairly early date in which is suggested by the sloping inelegant handwriting.

Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἡρᾷ

Ἡρακλείδης χαίρειν.

- πάντα ὑπερθέμενος ἀπόστιλόν μοι ἐν τῇ  
 σήμερον Ἀντίουν κράτιστον, ἵτα ἀργύρι-  
 5 α αὐτοῦ (τάλαντα) 15 (δραχμὰς?) Ἄ, καὶ Πορίτ τέκτονα.  
 ἐτελεύτησεν γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἐρ-  
 γάτας τοῦ Βουβαλίτου καὶ τοὺς κατισαγωγίς  
 τοῦ πάγου καὶ τὰ ἔρια ἐν τῇ σήμερον,  
 καθὼς περιέχουσιν τὰ ἐπειστάλματα.  
 10 ἐὰν μὴ ἀπ[ο]στίλης τὰ ἔρια ἐν τῇ σήμερον,  
 ἤδη γὰρ ἐπ[ο]ίησάν μοι ἀγοράσε τῆς μνᾶς  
 τοῦ ἔριου (δραχμῶν) Ἰφ, καὶ λυπὸν μὴ καταφρονήσης  
 ὅτι ἐκ τιμῆς, καὶ (ἐὰν) μὴ ἀποστίλης μοι αὐτὰ ἐν  
 τῇ σήμερον, νῆ τὸν θεὸν κατὰκλειστός εἰμει  
 15 [[ε. ε.] εἰς τὸ Ἀτριάιον] λοιπὸν βοήθησον.  
 οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Παώμεως  
 οὖς ἐνεγύησας Κοπρεῖ ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῶν  
 ταμακῶν, ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔσσιν ὁ ἐπίτροπος.  
 ἀπόστιλον δὲ σίππια εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβολι-  
 20 κὸν ὀλίγα, [[σ. . .] Ποτάμ[ι]μων γὰρ ὁ στρα-  
 τιώτης τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου ἀνάβη ἔνεκεν

τοῦ ἀναβολ[ι]κοῦ. αὐτὸς οὖν ἀπόστιλον  
 κἂν μίαν σαργάνην καὶ ὀλίγα ἔρια,  
 ἵνα κἀγὼ ἴσος πάντας γένομαι  
 25 καὶ μὴ ὑβρισθῶ παρὰ τοὺς πάντας.  
 ποίησον δὲ Τειρᾶν ἀναβῆναι πρὸς μαὶ  
 καθὼς συνέταξεν τῷ ὀφ(φικιαλίῳ) τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.  
 ἄρ' ὄρα μὴ ἀμελή[σης], εἰ βλέπω γὰρ  
 ἀμελή[σαντα, . . . . .]ς.

On the verso

30 κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ

Ἡρᾷ Ἡρακλείδης.

3. ὑπερθέμενος. 4. ἵτα. 5. πορίτ'. 11. 1. με ἀγοράσαι τὴν μνᾶν. 12. 1. λοιπὸν.  
 15. 1. Ἀδριανίον. 17. 1. τῷ πραιπόσιτῳ? 18. 1. ἔστιν. 19. σίππια . . . ἱερὸν.  
 21. 1. ἀνέβη. 24. ἵνα . . . ἴσος. 1. πᾶσι γένομαι. 25. ὑβρισθῶ. 1. τοῖς πᾶσιν? 26. 1. μέ.  
 28. 1. ἀλλ' ὄρα.

'To my lord my brother Heras from Heraclides, greeting. Put off everything else and send to me to-day Antinous above all and next his money, 16 talents 4,000 drachmae, and the carpenter Porit, for his brother is dead, and the workmen of the Bubalite (?) and the clerks (?) of the pagus and the wool to-day, as stated in the orders. If you do not send the wool to-day—for they have already caused me to buy a mina's weight of wool at 3,500 drachmae, so in future do not be neglectful, because it is by value (?), and if you do not send it to me to-day, by heaven, I am shut up in the temple of Hadrian; so help me. Not only them but also the people from Paomis for whom you gave security to Copreus the praepositus of the fiscal properties, for the procurator is at hand. And send a little tow for the sacred *anabolicum*, for Potamon the soldier of the procurator has come up for the *anabolicum*. Send therefore at least one basket and a little wool, in order that I may be equal to all the others and not be insulted before them all. Make Teiras also come to me, as he arranged with the attendant of the *praeses*. Take care that you do not neglect this, for if I see that you have neglected it, [you will repent it?]. (Addressed) To my lord my brother Heras from Heraclides.'

7-8. Βουβαλίτου is perhaps a nickname rather than a topographical designation; Βούβαλος and -άλιον occur as names. The κατισαγωγίς πάγου are novel. Their functions may be supposed to have been more or less similar to those of the εἰσαγωγίς who are occasionally mentioned in the Roman period; cf. P. Fay. 23 (a). 3, n., Hamb. i, p. 78.

9. ἐπιστάλματα: i.e. orders for delivery; cf. e.g. 1056. 6.

15. Ἄ σεβασμώτατον Ἀδριανέιον at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in 1113. 5-6. At the date of this letter it was apparently being used as a prison. Some letters at the beginning of this line have been effectively washed out.

17-18. In view of the erratic grammar of this text it is not unlikely that the nominative ὁ πραιπόσιτος was an error for the dative, τοῖς in the previous line then carrying on the construction of ll. 3 sqq.; otherwise it must be supposed that the verb has been omitted and the sentence becomes wholly obscure. πραιπόσιτος ταμακῶν may be regarded as a variant of πραιπ. πατριμων(ι)αλίον in 900. 5 (= W. 437, A.D. 322), since according to Wilcken's

probable view (*Grundz.* p. 155) from the time of Septimius Severus the *οὐσιακά* were incorporated in the  *fiscus*. The approaching *ἐπίτροπος* was the *procurator usiacus*.

19. For the *ἀναβολικόν* cf. 1135. int. *Shuffra* is one of the commodities mentioned by Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 45 in referring to the establishment of that impost.

20. That the letters between *δλίγα* and *Ποτάμων* have been cancelled is not quite certain.

27. *ὄφ(φικαλίφ)*: cf. e. g. 35. 13, 896. 24, 1204. 26.

29. The comparative shortness of this line suggests that no more than the concluding salutation has been lost.

## 2155. LETTER OF HELENUS.

17.2 x 9 cm.

Fourth century.

Ἑλενος Σιλβανῶ τῷ κυρίῳ  
 μου ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.  
 καὶ διὰ Πεκύσιος τοῦ ὀνηλάτου  
 σοι ἔπεμψα ἵνα πέμψῃς ἡ-  
 5 μῖν εἰς τὰ ἔργα δύο τάλαντα ἵνα  
 εὐρωμεν δοῦναι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰβι-  
 ῶνος, πάνυ γὰρ ἐνοχλοῦμαι  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵνα τοῖς καταμηνίοις  
 ἡμῶν δῶ καὶ τοῖς πλαστοποιοῖς  
 10 καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἔργα οἶνον γὰρ {οὐ}  
 οὐδεὶς ἠγόρασεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν.  
 κατεσχέθη Ἡρων ὁ κεραμεὺς  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Κιαλή τοῦ κωμάρχου  
 καὶ ἔβαλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς δεκα-  
 15 νίας ἄρας ἄλλους τοὺς ὀν-  
 τας ἐν τῇ δεκανίᾳ καὶ τοῦτον  
 ἔβαλεν. διελέχθη οὖν αὐ-  
 τῷ τούτου ἕνεκεν καὶ (πρότερον ?)  
 κήδεσθαι.  
 20 ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι  
 πο[λ]λοῖς χρόνοις.

Along the left margin

ἐνοχλοῦσι δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἱ δεκανίαι ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 τιμῆς τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὀνηλάτου τοῦ ἀπερχομένου εἰς τὸ μεγα . . [.] .

4. ἵνα: so ll. 5, 8. 8. ὑπ. 9. ω of ἡμων above ι, which is crossed through.  
 18. α'.

'Helenus to Silvanus my lord and brother, greeting. I sent to you also by Pekusis the donkey-driver to send me two talents for the work so that I may be able to give something to the people from Ibion, for I am much troubled by them, and may pay our monthly workmen and the moulders and use it for the other work; for no one has bought any wine from us. Heron the potter has been seized by Kiale the comarch who thrust him into the *decaniae*, removing others who were in a *decania* and putting him in. I talked to him about him before so that he might give heed. I pray for your lasting health. The *decaniae* too are troubling us on account of our men about the price of the wine and about the donkey-driver who is going to . . .'

3. After *ὀνηλάτου* there are some slight remains of ink to which I can attach no meaning.

8. *καταμηνίοις*: this word, which elsewhere seems to be used only in the neuter plural (so e.g. SB. 3451. 13), must here be masculine and mean workmen engaged by the month or working for a monthly wage.

9. *πλαστοποιοῖς*: a novel compound, of which the precise application is not clear. *πλασται* in 1631. 10, &c. (cf. n. *ad loc.*) were walls of mud or perhaps mud-brick, enclosing a vineyard. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, assumes that *πλαστευτής* in P. Flor. 226. 11 and *πλάστ(ης?)* in P. Giessen 31. ii. 17 mean brickmakers, but that is not clear.

14. *δεκανίας*: cf. 1512.

23. *μεγα . . [.]*: the third letter may be τ and the last is probably σ or υ.

## 2156. LETTER OF AMYNTAS.

16.5 x 12.5 cm.

Late fourth or fifth century.

A letter written by a Christian announcing the dispatch of parchment quaternions and other articles.

Τῷ ποθεινο[άτω] μου ἀδελφῶ  
 Σερῶ Ἀμύντας χαίρειν.  
 εὐκαιρον καὶ νῦν δεξάμενος ἀφορ-  
 μὴν τοῦ γεινομένου πρὸς σὲ ἀναγκαῖ-  
 5 ον ἐνόμισα προσειπεῖν σε, ὁμοῦ τῇ  
 θεῖᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ εὐχόμενος αἰεὶ  
 διαφυλάξαι σε ἡμῖν. κόμισαι διὰ τοῦ  
 ἀναδιδοῦντός σοι ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα  
 τὴν διφθέραν [τ]ῶν μεμβρανῶν ἐν  
 10 τετραδίοις εἰκ[οσ]ιπέντε τιμῆς  
 ἀργυρίου (ταλάντων) ἰδ [.] , καὶ εἰ χρεία ἐστὶν ἐκ-  
 τὸς τούτων ἀπ' [?] ἐκ]είνων λαβεῖν με,  
 ἀντίγραφον κ[αὶ λα]μβάνω ἴσθι δὲ καὶ αὐ-  
 τῶν, εἰ βούλει, τὴν τιμὴν (τάλαντα) 5 εἶναι, ὅτ[ι]  
 15 δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἠθύβησα

ἵνα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὀλίγα ἐπιταγίδια ἀποστείλω.  
 κόμισαι διὰ Ἀπί τὸ στιχάριν καὶ τὸ μαφόρ-  
 τιν καὶ εὐθέως κναφήτω, ἔχει δὲ καὶ  
 Ἀφύγγιος ὁ κναφεὺς τὸ ἄλλο μαφόρτιν.  
 20 προσαγόρευε Ἀμμώνιον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς.  
 πολλά σε ἀσπάζεται Δύρηλιος καὶ τὸν  
 κύριόν μου ἀδελφὸν Ἑρμείνον καὶ Λεόντα  
 καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

[ἐρρ]ωμένω σοι καὶ εὐθυ-  
 [μοῦντ]ι ἐν κυρί[ω] θ(ε)ῶ  
 [.....]·[.....]α[.....]  
 . . . . .

On the verso

ὁδὸς τῶ ἀδελφῶ μου Σεραῖ π(α)ρὰ Ἀμύντα.

'To my most beloved brother Seras from Amyntas, greeting. Having just been given a favourable opportunity by a man who is going to you, I thought that I must send you a greeting, praying at the same time to the divine providence of God that He will ever preserve you to us. Receive through the bearer of this my letter the skin of parchments in twenty-five quaternions to the value of 14 talents of silver, and if there is any need for me besides these to take from those others, reply, and I will do so; you must know, if you wish, that the value of them is 6 talents, and that after the court I was encouraged to send those few little commissions. Receive through Api the tunic and the cloak and let him clean them immediately; Aphungius the fuller has the other cloak. Greet Ammonius and his sisters. Aurelius sends you many salutations, also to my lord and brother Herminus and Leon and to all our friends in peace. [I pray for your long preservation] in health and happiness in the lord God. (Addressed) Delivered to my brother Seras from Amyntas.'

10. τετραδίους: cf. 1204. 4 τετραδέριμα.

11. There is room for a letter or two between *ιδ* and *καί*, but nothing need be lost.

14. *στ*[ι] is very doubtful.

16. *ἐπιταγίδιον* is apparently not otherwise attested.

17. An appreciable blank space has been left for no evident reason between Ἀπί and τῶ. Ἀπει indeclinable occurs in 530. 14, P. Gen. 77. 2.

18. κναφήτω: sc. ὁ κναφεὺς rather than Ἀπί. For the form cf. 1346 ἐγνάφη.

24 sqq. Something like διὰ παντός δλοκληρίαν εὔχομαι may be supplied; [διὰ παν]τῶς in fact is a possible though not very satisfactory reading in l. 26. Cf. e.g. 1402. 17-19 ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι τῶ θεῶ διὰ παντός, 1405. 3-5 εὔχομαι σοι τὴν δλοκληρίαν παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ θ(ε)ῶ, P. Heid. 6. 24 sqq. ἐρρωμένον σε ἡ θία πρόνοια φυλάξαι[ι] ἐπὶ μέγιστον χρόνον ἐν κυρίῳ χ(ριστ)ῶ, and the Christian formulae cited from literary sources by Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, pp. 348-9. There would be room for two more lines below l. 26.

## INDICES

(The figures 20 are to be supplied before 65-99, the figures 21 before 00-56; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small Roman figures to columns; r. = recto, ve. = verso.)

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

#### (a) GREEK.

Ἀγαθοκλῆς 82<sup>5</sup> 7.  
 ἀγαθός 72 16 75 27 79 24  
 83 14.  
 ἄγαλμα 82<sup>4</sup> 13?  
 ἄγγος 80 91.  
 ἄγειν 80 33, 61, 69, 84, 89  
 88 23. ἄγε 81 (a)<sup>5</sup> 2.  
 ἀγήραος 87 19.  
 ἀγήρατος 87 19?  
 ἄγηρος 75<sup>1</sup> 18.  
 ἀγήτωρ 81 (f)<sup>4</sup> 5.  
 ἀγιαστής (or -ός) 68 3.  
 ἄγιος 68 1.  
 ἀγλαΐσμα 84 7.  
 ἀγνοεῖν 72 30?  
 ἀγνός 76 16.  
 ἄγος 75<sup>1</sup> 24.  
 ἄγροικος 88 50.  
 ἀγγ[ ] 80 109.  
 ἀδελφ[ ] 79 47.  
 ἀδελφεῖη 80 59.  
 ἀδελφή 84 14.  
 ἀδελφός 72 10 83 68.  
 ἀ]δικώτατα 78 46?  
 Ἀδρανίτης 80 52.  
 ἀδνμελής 76 14.  
 ἀεί 78 30 81 (δ)<sup>2</sup> 2.  
 ἀείδω 76 16 79 29, 33.  
 ἀεικής 78 31.  
 ἀειλογία 87 11.  
 ἀελαπεδον (?) 87 35.  
 Ἀθανάσιος 71 3?  
 ἀθάνατος 75<sup>1</sup> 18, 23, 28, 5 2.  
 Ἀθηναῖοι 78 28 82<sup>1</sup> 2 87 41.  
 Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία 87 6.  
 Ἀθήμη 82<sup>2</sup> 11, 4 13.

Ἀθήνησι 86 r. 21.  
 ἀθλεῖν 78 34.  
 ἄθλος 78 68 87 12.  
 Αἰάκειον 87 16.  
 Αἰάκος 87 16, 18.  
 Αἰγυναῖος 87 14.  
 Αἴγυπτος 79 13.  
 αἰδέσιμος 72 11.  
 αἰδέσις 87 13.  
 αἰεῖν 80 80.  
 αἶμα 80 85.  
 αἰνγμα 72 31.  
 Αἰσχίνης 87 29.  
 Αἴσωπος 83 4 et saep.  
 αἰτία 83 31.  
 αἰτιᾶν 78 46.  
 Αἴτην 80 43.  
 Αἰτωλός 85<sup>1</sup> 36.  
 αἰών 68 7, 14.  
 ἄκακος 87 23.  
 ἀκεραιοφανής 87 21.  
 ἀκηράσιος 87 19?  
 ἀκήρατος 87 19.  
 ἀκολουθεῖν 83 23.  
 ἀκομψος 87 23.  
 ἀκούειν 68 20 70 17 86 ve.  
 12.  
 ἀκραφνής 87 21.  
 ἄκραντος 78 34.  
 ἀκρόπολις 82<sup>1</sup> 6, 2 6, 3 5? 86  
 1. 22.  
 ἄκρος 77<sup>1</sup> 1. ἄκρω 83 65.  
 ἀκρανοῦν 87 22.  
 ἀλάζων 87 27, 30.  
 ἀλέγειν 75<sup>3</sup> 5.  
 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς 82<sup>4</sup> 21.

ἀλήθεια 72 9.  
 ἀληθής 81 (a)<sup>2</sup> 5 83 10.  
 ἀληκτος 87 36.  
 ἀλήπεδον 87 34.  
 Ἀλιάρτος 80 89.  
 ἀλιτ( ) 76 5.  
 Ἀλκάθοος 75<sup>2</sup> 4.  
 ἀλλά 72 22 78 17, 35-6 79  
 9, 27, 47, 54 80 70, 124  
 83 20 84 20, 24.  
 ]αλλαγή 78 54.  
 ἀλλήλων 80 76.  
 ἀλλόκοτος 87 24.  
 ἄλλος 67 15 75 17, 22 80  
 34 87 31. ἄλλως 87 9.  
 ἀλλότριος 70 5, 16, 21.  
 ἄλς 85<sup>1</sup> 25.  
 ἄμα 83 47 87 43.  
 ἄμαξα 79 25.  
 ἀμαρτάνειν 78 19.  
 ἄμβατος 75<sup>6</sup> 1.  
 Ἀμβρακιώτης 82<sup>4</sup> 38.  
 ἄμβων 87 38-9.  
 ἀμείβεσθαι 84 12.  
 (Ἀ)μεινίας 82<sup>2</sup> 9.  
 ἀμερίστος 87 36.  
 ἀμνητήριον 74 23.  
 ἀμφί 80 74 81 (δ)<sup>3</sup> 2.  
 Ἀμφιάριος 75<sup>1</sup> 24.  
 Ἀμφιάριος 82<sup>4</sup> 25.  
 ἀμφίβολος 87 40.  
 Ἀμφικτύονες 86 r. 9?  
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν 87 40.  
 ἄν 77<sup>2</sup> ii 19 78 32, 34, 39  
 83 15. κᾶν 87 24.  
 ἀνά 79 27.

ἀναβαθμός 87 38.  
 ἀναβαίνειν 87 43.  
 ἀναβλέπειν 69 3, 12.  
 ἀνάγειν 77<sup>2</sup> ii 18.  
 ἀναγκάζειν 83 56.  
 ἀνάγκη 83 45 84 23.  
 ἀναγράφειν 87 18.  
 ἀναξ 75<sup>1</sup> 12, 30.  
 ἀναπίπτειν 83 59.  
 ἀναρρίπτειν 78 47.  
 ἀναρριχᾶσθαι 87 42.  
 ἀνδρειώτατος 71 10.  
 ἀνεπίμικτος 87 20.  
 ἀνέρχεσθαι 87 42.  
 ἀνήρ 75<sup>1</sup> 30 77<sup>2</sup> ii 15 78 26  
 79 15 81(c)<sup>2</sup> 4.  
 ἀνθεμί 85<sup>3</sup> 16.  
 ἀνθρωπος 70 9 71 6 75<sup>1</sup> 21,  
 5 78 16 84 15 85<sup>3</sup> 12.  
 ἀνιστάται 83 40.  
 ἀνιχνεύειν 74 16.  
 ἀνοικνύειν 69 4?  
 ἀνορθοῦν 81(δ)<sup>2</sup> 6.  
 ἀνασπάζεσθαι 83 8.  
 ἀντί τοῦ 87 31.  
 ἀντίθεος 75<sup>5</sup> 3.  
 ἀντίφους 80 75.  
 Ἄντιπατρος 82<sup>4</sup> 31.  
 ἀνύειν 71 14.  
 ἄνω 77<sup>2</sup> i 13.  
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Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσ. Περτίναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβητικὸς Παρθ. Μέγ.  
καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσ. Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτας Καίσαρ. Σεβ.  
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## VALERIANUS, GALLIENUS, AND CORNELIUS VALERIANUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Γαλλιῆνος Γερμανικοὶ Μέγ. Εὐσ. Εὐτ. καὶ Πούπλιος Δικίνιος Κορνήλιος Σαλωνίνος Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσ. Σεβαστοί (ἔτ. 5) 08 11.

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 — — *ex-agoranomus* f. of Aur. Aristion 37 8.  
 — Ἀύρ. Δ. 33 29.  
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 — Πούπλιος Ἀζίλιος Δ. contractor 28 3.  
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 — Ἀύρ. Νεμεσίων ὁ καὶ Δ. *basilicogrammateus* 25 10.  
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 Πτολεμῖνος ex-logistes 10 7.
- Ῥουφίνος, Οὐέτιος Ῥ. consul 14 18 24 18.
- Σαβίνος, Ἄππιος Σ. praefect 32 2.  
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... ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ... ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ...  
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 ... ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ... ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ...

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fr. 44 L.P.

No. 2079, Fr. 1





No. 2080, Cols. ii-iii

ΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ  
 ΝΟΙΣΤΙΝ ΟΥ  
 ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ  
 ΑΕΛΟΙΑΤΕ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ  
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 ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΑΘΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΤΗΡΑΝ  
 ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΝΟΙΣΤΙΝ  
 ΕΡΟΥ ΜΕΘΥΝΑ  
 ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΘΕΕΙΝ  
 ΜΑΝ

No. 2098,  
Cols. ix-xi

ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ  
 ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΑΘΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΤΗΡΑΝ

No. 2078,  
Fr. 5

ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ  
 ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΑΘΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΤΗΡΑΝ  
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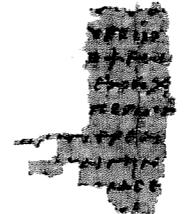
No. 2088

ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
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 ΑΙΤΙΑΣ  
 ΘΕΕΙΝ  
 ΜΑΝ

No. 2086, Fr. 1, recto



No. 2098,  
Cols. ix-xi



No. 2078,  
Fr. 5

No. 2086, Fr. 1, recto

No. 2088

Fragmentary Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of script in a cursive hand. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink or damage, with only some characters and words being legible. The fragments are arranged in a roughly rectangular shape on the right side of the page.

No. 2103,  
Frs. 2+3, Col. ii

Fragmentary Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of script in a cursive hand. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink or damage, with only some characters and words being legible. The fragments are arranged in a roughly rectangular shape on the right side of the page.

No. 2082, Frs. 6+7

Fragmentary Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of script in a cursive hand. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink or damage, with only some characters and words being legible. The fragments are arranged in a roughly rectangular shape on the right side of the page.

No. 2082, Fr. 5

No. 2089, recto

Fragmentary Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of script in a cursive hand. The text is heavily obscured by dark ink or damage, with only some characters and words being legible. The fragments are arranged in a roughly rectangular shape on the left side of the page.

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